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The Standard.

SPEECH OF THOMAS F. MARSHALL, OF KENTUCKY, SUSTAINING THE RESOLUTION OF CENSURE UPON J. Q. ADAMS.

In consequence of some prefatory remarks concerning the course pursued by Mr. Wise, of Virginia, that gentleman interposed; and Mr. Marshall having yielded him the floor for explanation, he went on to say that there was one fact which he wished now, before the gentleman proceeded any further, should be clearly understood by the House, by his constituents, and by the gentleman from Massachusetts. It was this: that he never had advocated, or meant in any sense to advocate, the resolutions offered by the gentleman from Kentucky, (Mr. Marshall.) In what he had said yesterday and the day before, he had spoken on the question of printing them, and of printing alone—not to advocate the resolutions, but to excuse himself from voting on the case of the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. Marshall resumed. He was glad to hear this disavowal on the part of his friend, and was very thankful that the fact stood as it did; for, had the gentleman indeed intended his speech as friendly to (Mr. M.'s) proposition, he should have been tempted to exclaim, in the words of the Spanish proverb, "God deliver me from my friends, and I will take care of my enemies." Mr. M. had read the report of the gentleman's speech with great attention, (for it had been impossible, from the confusion, to hear all the gentleman said,) and he found it would still be necessary for him to take a very cursory review of what the gentleman had advanced; in doing which he should take the liberty of coudensing the speech a little, which, as reported to the public, occupied in all seven columns of the National Intelligencer. Should he, in this process of condensation, reduce the speech of the gentleman to the form of distinct resolutions, they would amount to about these: 1. Resolved, That the existence of slavery, as an institution, is essential to the preservation of liberty and equality. [A laugh.] 2. Resolved, That there has been, from the very foundation of this government, an English anti-American party, led and headed by the house of Braintree, its object being to bring back this country under the dominion of England, and that this is northern policy and northern principle. 3. Resolved, That this faction was once crushed by Mr. Jefferson; that, having afterwards somewhat revived, it was again crushed by Gen. Jackson; but that it still retaining the principle of vitality, and now appearing again under the gentleman from Massachusetts, it will again be crushed, if the whole South will unite and rally against the entire North, in this attack against liberty and equality, and in favor of England, led on by John Tyler. 4. Resolved, That one of the schemes of this English party, to destroy this confederacy, is to establish a tariff, by which English commerce is to be curtailed, by which a threatening rival to her is to be raised up in the North—the right arm of England, viz. her manufacturing industry, and the power of her machinery, is to be palsied, and the North to be put up in her room, as the great customer, not only of our own country, but of the rest of the world. And *this* is to be the means by which England is to be *conciliated*, and with her consequent aid this Union is to be dissolved! [Loud laughter.]

Now, against both this last statement of fact, and the reasoning founded upon it, Mr. M. begged leave to enter his dissent. Of all the objects Mr. M. might or might not have had in view in offering the resolutions which he had submitted to the House, the very last was to revive here, and at a time like this, the bitter and envenomed animosities of 1801.—Those unhappy enmities grew out of a state of the world and of the politics of this country which existed no longer, and which never could exist again. Mr. M. could, of course, have no personal remembrance of those days; since the year 1801 happened to be the very year in which he was born, and the troubles of that stormy era had terminated before he was old enough to bear arms, or to take any active interest in politics. Mr. M. held himself accountable for his own sins only, and not for those of a generation gone by. All these matters were, with him, matters of history merely; but, for one, come weal, come wo, from the resolutions he had offered, he entered his disclaimer and his unqualified denial of the proposition that northern men, or that the party termed Federalists—whatever might have been their mistakes—ever were, as a party, traitors to their country, or a banded faction conspiring to bring us back under those very chains which they themselves—ay, they were the very men—which they themelves had cut in two; to destroy which, they had pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor; had girded on their swords, and never had sheathed them until they saw their country in liberty and peace. Against such an assertion he entered, now and here, under every responsibility, his solemn and emphatic disclaimer. They might, in some things have been mistaken; but, on the leading points of domestic policy especially, the Whig party were the very last persons in this world who ought to charge those men with having been political traitors. Friends of England, to the injury or dishonor of their own country, they never were. In the then existing state of the world, when the balance of power in Europe was violently and dangerously disturbed, when one vast military power was rising over the subjected and affrighted kingdoms around, and when one gigantic and commanding mind was wielding that entire mass of military force with as much ease as if it were a willow wand, those men believed that it was not for the United States to abandon her neutral position, and help in assailing that power whose navy alone prevented the establishment of a despotism such as none of the Cæsars ever equalled in power, and which would very speedily have overshadowed the world. This had been their honest belief; but public opinion condemned it. The war which ensued had a prosperous and glorious termination, (an event entirely contrary to their expectations,) and its result accomplished the fall of that man whom the democratic party dreaded more than all the world beside. The positions taken by him in regard to a navy and to a Bank of the United States, and other kindred measures, were formed in the school of that *slaveholder* whose sacred dust was now reposing within the soil of his native Virginia, and on the banks of his own once-loved Potomac. Against the hated head of this illustrious man, the whole thunder of a victorious and triumphant party had long been hurled; nor did they cease till the hand of one now branded on his country's history as a traitor, in an evil hour, had laid him low. Whatever might have been the errors of that great statesman, it would be hard to convince Mr. M. that one who had entered the family of Washington at the age of nineteen, and who had served with him for seven years, through all the soul-trying scenes of the revolutionary war; who enjoyed his entire confidence then, and continued so to enjoy it, that afterwards, when the soldier of the revolution became the civil head of the republic and the commander-in-chief of all her military power, he appointed this traitor second in command, it would be hard, he again said, to convince him, with all his own confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of George Washington, that there was treason in the heart of one whom the father of his country loved so well. If this, cried Mr. M. is Federalism, make the most of it.

Mr. Marshall said he had not brought forward the measure proposed in the resolutions he had offered as being peculiarly a southern measure—neither had he proposed it as a peculiarly a northern measure; for he was not one who admitted that men of the North alone were possessed of enlightened patriotism, or of devoted attachment to the Constitution, or that they were the only men who were entitled to pass censure on one who had introduced a prayer to Congress to overthrow the government.—It had not been designed as a sectional measure in any sense, but purely as an *American* measure—as a test of how much American feeling existed in that body; and as affording to all who were actuated by it an opportunity of subscribing here to what he deemed the true doctrine of the Constitution, in which all good and true-hearted patriots could unite, and which tended to secure the peace and happiness of this country.

Thus much for what might be considered as in some sort foreign to the subject immediately before the House. He came now to the matter in hand.

And first, he had a word to say on the nature of the defense which had been here set up. The House had had four speeches addressed to it, some of which were most able and interesting. It had been argued in tones of feeling and of eloquence, which must have gone home to every heart. After presenting a moving description of the venerable age, the long services, the weight of character, the talent, the standing, the influence, and power of the gentleman from Massachusetts, and commenting on the severity of the censure proposed to be inflicted upon him; that his real object had been to obtain an opportunity of replying to the petitioners, of producing a State paper, the effect of which should be to stay these incendiary measures of discontent, and, with all the power of his eloquent pen, and all the vast resources of his mighty mind, to repress, by the force of unanswerable argument, the wild projects and headstrong purposes of those who desired to strike at the Union; that the true design of the whole movement had been a triumphant defense and vindication of the American Union, and such a reproof to those who asked its destruction as should forever seal their lips in silence; the production of an argument which should at once satisfy all the world, and put down at once and forever all such destructive designs as had given birth to this memorial.—This had, in substance, been the defense set up, not by the gentleman from Massachusetts, but by the ablest of his advocates. Now, if that defense had been urged before this House by the accused himself; if he had so much as breathed such a wish as had been ascribed to him by his eloquent champion from Virginia, (Mr. Botts,) it would have had such an effect on the feelings of Mr. M. as might possibly have prevailed with him at once to withdraw his resolutions. But Mr. M. could not consent to overlook the defense set up by the gentleman himself, and be thus turned over to the defenses advanced for him by others. What had the gentleman said? As to what he might have uttered in the irritation of the moment against Mr. M. himself, it had gone by; his mind was occupied by things so much higher, and in which he felt so much deeper interest, that things of this kind could make but little impression upon him. And, although the judgment of the gentleman from Massachusetts could not but have great weight in that House; and although the gentleman had denounced Mr. M. as not possessed of mind enough to judge of the meaning of the Constitution, or to comprehend the nature of the crime of high treason, and as one who had suffered so deeply from [illegible] that it would take him three years to recover sufficiently to be fit to go to a law school; and though the gentleman had said that Mr. M. had admitted to him in private conversation, the North as justly complaining of oppression under a refusal to receive their petitions—

Mr. Adams here interposed, and, the floor having been yielded to him for explanation, corrected the statement of Mr. M. by observing that what he had said was, that the gentleman from Kentucky had admitted to him, in private conversation, that he was a friend to the right of petition, and believed abolition petitions ought to be received.

Mr. Marshall resumed, and expressed himself, as happy in being thus corrected. It was true that he had taken the ground that abolition memorials ought to be received; not as a matter of right, but purely as a matter of expediency. He still thought so; he believed it would be expedient to repeal the 21st rule, to receive all those memorials, and to refer them to a select committee, with the gentleman from Massachusetts at its head, that he might have an opportunity of telling that House, the South, and the world, what it was that northern men really thought on that subject, and what they would be at.

But to proceed, Mr. M. had been actuated in this whole proceeding by no personal feeling hostile to the gentleman from Massachusetts; and if that gentleman thought, by those irritating taunts, which no man better understood than himself, to sting Mr. M. into a want of propriety in his deportment in that Hall, he little understood the character of the man, intemperate as he might deem him to be.

The petition which had given rise to this proceeding was now on the table of the House. It prayed the National legislature to take the preliminary steps to a dissolution of this Union. What was the defense which had been set up for such a document? Two points had been made: first, the gentleman insisted upon the right of these petitioners to do this thing. They had a natural right to dissolve the government, and to sever the union of these States, whenever that union should, in their opinion, be injurious or inconvenient to themselves. And then, in the second place, that this right was nugatory and of no value unless they might petition Congress to effect such dissolution. What did this argument prove? That the American government cannot be abolished by the American people without their asking Congress to do it. This was the body which must destroy the Union, if it was to be destroyed at all. So much as to the matter of right.

And then the gentleman, as the next step of his argument, had gone on to enumerate the grievances which led these people to desire a dissolution of the Union; and the grievances were almost without number. Mr. M. would go over a few of the heads of complaint, by way of contrast to the statement made by the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Botts,) as to the object and motive of the gentleman in bringing that petition into this House; which he said was that the gentleman from Massachusetts might have an opportunity of allaying the discontents of the North, and satisfying them that the Union ought not to be dissolved. The gentleman had taken the position that that portion of the Union from which Mr. M. came were trying, with all the influence they could exert, to effect a repeal of the act of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury; that they were industriously endeavoring to extend the existence of slavery over the free States; that they sought to involve this country in a war with Great Britain, with a view to restore the African slave trade, and to fix it upon these States forever; and that the project of the Secretary of the Navy for the establishment of a home squadron had for its real object, not the defense of the country, but the protection of the slave trade. And then, after enumerating all these different grounds of grievance, the gentleman had warned the House that he should go home to his people, and say to them that it was time to take the alarm; that he would give them the alarm, and that he had introduced this petition for the very purpose of exciting alarm.

Mr. Adams interposed, and denied that he had said this, or anything like it. What he had said was, that he had presented the petition because he considered it his duty.

Mr. Marshall, in reply, appealed to the report of Mr. Adams's speech. He was asked from what paper he read. He replied, it was a report in the National Intelligencer, given by one of the regular reporters of that establishment in this House. Mr. M. read extensively from the report, observing that thus the gentleman's language had gone forth to the world; and, after he had stated these heads of grievance, he had concluded by giving a pledge that he would show the truth of all this.

[Mr. Adams. And I intend to show it.]

Now, Mr. M. was not going to enter into this detail of grievances; it was not his purpose to discuss them with the gentleman from Massachusetts. Neither should he discuss the right of Great Britain to search vessels wherever she found them, under the pretence of suppressing the slave trade.

[Mr. Adams. You had better not.]

Neither should he discuss the propriety or necessity of the home squadron, for the defense of our exposed coast against the strongest military marine in the world, or enter upon the question whether such a defense was a grievance to the North. Mr. M. had adverted to this list of grievances, merely to show what ground had actually been taken by the gentleman himself in his defense. He had undertaken to make out a case of such grievous oppression and tyranny, exercised by the government upon him and his, that if ever a case would justify an outraged people in going into a state of revolution, and bursting the bands of society, this case was one; and the gentleman insisted that he had done it. The right of petition was gone; and the action of Congress, in preparing for a dissolution of the Union, was the only means by which the sacred and eternal rights of his constituents could be carried into effect.—The gentleman had avowed that he had brought this petition forward in order to give those constituents the alarm, and to afford them needed information. Still, however, the gentleman had further declared that he should not at present advise an actual dissolution of the Union—no—not yet—not yet; but it was coming—it was approaching.

Now, let any gentleman compare all this with the ground of defense taken in behalf of the gentleman from Massachusetts, by his friend from Virginia, (Mr. Botts,) and where would the gentleman stand? The gentleman only wished an opportunity to prepare a report which should allay agitation, and quiet the minds of his constituents! Oh, yes; and a precious foretaste the House had enjoyed of the nature of that document which the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations might be expected to send forth to the world, should his own instructions to the committee be adopted. This was allaying agitation with a vengeance! This was soothing irritation; this was a healing persuasive, to convince them that the union of these States must be maintained? The gentleman from Virginia longed that the opportunity should be given to the gentleman from Massachusetts, that he might, by his eloquent pen, by the force of his luminous understanding, and the whole weight of his personal influence, put down forever the unhappy spirit of northern discontent, and make his constituents ashamed that they had even harbored a thought of so dire a sacrilege as the dissolution of this Union! What! trust this task of an angel of peace to the man who openly avowed that he had introduced the memorial for the purposes of alarm! assign this task of healing to the man who fortified the right to abolish this government by an appeal to the Constitution, and who stimulated men to the exercise of this right, by presenting an accumulation of grievances, such as never had been endured on earth before, and the only remedy for which was a destruction of the Union! And an American House of Representatives, themselves the imbodied image of this great nation, were to leave to hands like these the task of soothing the irritations, and quieting the alarms of a discontented people!

Mr. M. confessed that he had listened to the gentleman with wonder; but if he wondered at the ground taken by the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Botts,) how had that wonder been increased when he listened to the gentleman's own immediate friend? A gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Saltonstall,) a personal friend and neighbor of the accused, had appealed not only to the age and to the past services of his friend, but to his descent from the British regicides. He had dwelt on his talents, his learning, his high standing, his influence, his weight of character, and above all, to his *indomitable, persevering* COURAGE. The gentleman had advised the House not to take him in hand, for he was a descendant of that stubborn crew, who, beginning with a petition of right, had gone forward, with untiring and undeviating footsteps, till they had ended in overturning the British government, and bringing the head of Charles I. to the block—of men who had cast themselves on the bosom of the wild ocean, and had sought a home upon the bleak and desolate shores of an unknown land, rather than yield one inch to what they deemed a denial of their rights at home—men who had warred, and warred, and warred to the death, rather than to cherish for one moment the thought of submission. Finding in this House one of the descendants of the forty regicides of England, whose imagination was thoroughly possessed with the idea that he and his associates were as grievously and as intolerably oppressed on this side the Atlantic as his ancestors had been on their native shores, and who, remembering that those ancestors had overturned and prostrated the British throne, seemed to be equally confident that they could upheave the foundations of the American republic, the gentleman would persuade the House that it was a thing altogether vain to think of laying its hand of authority upon one who had such blood in his veins, and that therefore the course alike of duty and of policy was, that they should fold their hands and give him rope. And why? Because that, by attempting to control him, we should only provoke his people more and more, and that they would but come upon us the sooner, should they see a finger laid, however lightly, upon their indomitable leader! For one, (said Mr. M.) so help me Heaven, it is an argument I will never yield to. If I ever could be brought to legislate under terror, standing, as I do, under my oath to the Constitution and my obligation to the American people, these are the things, these are the very considerations, which would induce me to vote for a deeper and sorer punishment than that now proposed. The gentleman from Massachusetts told me that I was not able to comprehend the rights of the citizen; that I knew nothing of the Constitution of my own country, or of the liberties and franchises which that instrument was made to protect, and that the resolutions I have offered here, indicate such ignorance. I listened, too, to what my colleague said about the charge of high treason which these resolutions involved. Will the House bear with me so far as to allow me to read the passage with which it was my desire to preface the resolutions I have offered? The words are these:

"Whereas, the Federal Constitution is a permanent form of government, and of perpetual obligation until altered or modified in the mode pointed out in that instrument; and the members of this House, deriving their political character and powers from the same, are sworn to support it; and the dissolution of the Union necessarily implies the destruction of that instrument, the overthrow of the American republic, and the extinction of our national existence; a proposition, therefore, to the representatives of the people, to dissolve the organic laws framed by their constituents, and to support which they are commanded by those constituents to be sworn, before they can enter upon the execution of the political powers created by it, and entrusted to them, is a high breach of privilege, a contempt offered to this House, a direct proposition to the legislature, and each member of it, to commit perjury, and involving necessarily in its execution and its consequences, the destruction of our country and the crime of high treason."

Now, it is not here said that the drawing up of this petition is an act of treason; nor that the offering of the petition here is treason; nor even that the enacting of the statute for which the petition prays would be treason; but it declares that the executing of those statutes, in the actual dissolution of the Union, would necessarily be attended by the commission of treason.

[Mr. Adams. That begs the question.]

Mr. M. I beg nothing of you, sir; nothing. But I am told that I must correct the position here taken, because the memorial asks for a peaceable dissolution of the Union. A peaceable dissolution of the Union! It cannot be. Before the bonds are broken, war must be made. It will be for the Union on one side, and against it on the other; and making war against the government is treason. A peaceable dissolution! How will you go about it? The petition implies, and the gentleman maintains, that it can be done only by Congress. I put it, then, to my colleagues to say if we have it in our power to do any such thing. But the gentleman says that if we cannot, then the right of the people is nugatory, because the thing cannot peaceably be done in any other way. I lay it down as a philosophical and political truth, that a Union like ours never can be dissolved, save by universal assent, or by force of arms. I lay it down that the government of this country is a government essentially, and that the United States is a body politic. I, as a citizen, am a part of the United States, and have a part in this government; and the Federal Constitution, and my share of protection under it, constitute my birthright. You may dissolve the Union. God, in his mercy, forefend that you ever should; but you will never do it but by force. Never; never. I say that the very idea of executing an act of Congress providing for such a purpose, could the day ever arrive when such an act should pass, does involve treason, because it could not be executed but by force of arms. And that the very passage of the act does involve perjury, because we have sworn to support the Constitution. Suppose we do so much violence to our imaginations as to conceive that such an act has been passed, how will it work? It will come to Kentucky, and it will tell the people of that State that there is no United States—no American Constitution; that there is no Federal government, and no State government; that society is resolved into its original elements. I say there are no State governments, because if the Federal government is destroyed, there is no longer any government armed with the attributes of sovereignty. The State governments cannot make peace or war; they cannot own a navy; they cannot coin money—I mean good money—and therefore I say the dissolution of the Union dissolves the State governments. And will any gentleman tell me that, in a juncture like this, under an attempt to dissolve the national compact, and throw all civil and social ties to the elements of Heaven, that I who have sworn again and again to support the Federal Constitution, will have no right to draw the sword? Will any man that knows Kentucky, believe that Kentucky will not do it?—Most assuredly she will.

It is seldom worth while to discuss a mere abstract proposition; but when you come to such a proposition as the right to dissolve this Union, the proposition is abstract no longer; it becomes practical and momentous, in the highest degree. Dissolve the Union! Yes, throw Kentucky back upon herself, a region far in the interior, lying buried in the far West, back of some new empire which these descendants of the regicides shall have established on the Atlantic coast—lay us under their overshadowing power? make us the subservient dependents of New-York, and of Virginia and South Carolina! And then tell me that this can be done without force! that it is all to be effected under the mild, the bland, the pacific, the amiable reasoning of the gentleman from Massachusetts: No, sir; it never can, it never will be so effected. Come that day when it will, it will be bloody, it will be horrible. It must be, and it will be so, at any time, or under any circumstances; but at a period like this, and under a state of society like ours, having a people of such characteristics and such means, the convulsion must be followed by horrors for which history has no parallel. Good Heaven! if we cannot live in peace while we are united together by all manner of ties, obligations, and interests, most assuredly we never shall when all these ties are broken, and State is sundered from State, and all are left to a general contest of unrestrained, unbridled selfishness and ambition.

If I wander from the subject, I wander from it in pursuit of the gentleman from Massachusetts, who has led the way. That gentleman objects to his triers. He tells us that gentlemen from the South are not competent to try him on the charge of bringing forward a proposition to dissolve this Union.—The South may well thank the gentleman from Massachusetts. It is a glorious compliment he has paid her; and this testimony alone, coming from such high authority, ought to be sufficient in itself to wipe from her escutcheon any shade of past restlessness or rashness that may bedim its brightness. The day of those errors has now gone by; and, the gentleman from Massachusetts himself being judge, the men of the South in this Hall are so deeply, so irrevocably, so unalterably, so hopelessly attached to this Union, that they are not fit to try a man on the charge of bringing forward a proposal to dissolve it. According to the gentleman, northern men are fit; they can judge, having no such bias in their way. Will northern gentleman here acquiesce in that statement? When the question comes, Is such a course worthy of censure? will northern gentlemen here declare that it is not censurable? Will they endorse this petition, and the reasoning by which it is sustained? Will they tell the American people that the people of Massachusetts have a right to dissolve their Union? That to pray for such dissolution is justifiable, and that they are ready to endorse the movement? Oh, sir, if they will, how a few years must have changed them; how must Massachusetts herself have changed, since the memorable era of 1798, when the South were ready to dissolve the Union, and Massachusetts was first among the champions to defend it! Do gentlemen recollect the short and pithy answer given by her to the resolutions of 1798, and which extorted from James Madison his famous report, as the means of extracting the dagger which Massachusetts had plunged into the vitals of his southern feeling? On all the great points of our glorious Constitution she was then as sound as a roach.—How has she changed? When the question to be decided shall be, Has a portion of the people of the United States a right to abolish the Constitution and Union of the United States, and is Congress a necessary organ to effect that purpose, so that without its action the right is nugatory, will Massachusetts be found voting ay, while the South votes no?

Ah! but there's a reason for it. It is the detestation of the South to abolition, that makes her a Unionist. And it is the love of the North for abolition, that has brought her in favor of dissolution. The North has avowed that slavery shall cease, and she resorts to dissolution, as the means to effect it; while the South is equally resolved that slavery shall be maintained, and therefore she rallies under the Constitution to support it; and my colleague over the way (Mr. Underwood) declares that if the Union is dissolved, slavery will be abolished. So far, he and the gentleman from Massachusetts perfectly agree. Now all know, or may know, who can read, that the institution of slavery is guarantied by the Constitution, and placed exclusively under the control of the States. And all who know the facts of the case, know that the people of the South are falsely charged, when they are accused of attempting to introduce slavery into the free States. If, under the provision which gives Congress power to regulate commerce between the States, Congress can interfere with the transportation of slaves as articles of commerce, then, under the provisions of the same Constitution which declares that there shall be no let or hindrance to the free circulation of goods and merchandise among the States, and that Congress cannot prohibit articles of barter from being exchanged, it is equally true that Congress cannot prohibit the transportation of slaves. Ohio, for example, cannot prohibit the introduction within her borders, of the beef or the hogs or the corn of Kentucky, yet she has prohibited the introduction of slaves. But if the argument from the commercial power be a sound one, then Ohio has violated the Constitution.

Do not gentlemen perceive that their own government would admit the introduction of slaves into every free State in this Union. But it is ridiculous to reason against such pretexts. No man doubts that slavery is guarded by the present Constitution. Massachusetts herself does not doubt it; and, therefore, seeking its abolition, she looks to a dissolution of the Union; and my colleague agrees with her that such dissolution is the surest means of abolishing slavery. I do, in my soul, believe that if the gentleman from Massachusetts himself, instead of looking into books, could travel among us, and look at facts as they exist; if he would see with his own eyes, and not with his learning, he would at once be induced to depart from his plan.

Mr. Adams. Not an inch. [After some words lost to the reporter:] You are doing them that service now, as much as you can.

Mr. Marshall resumed. It is the gentleman's privilege to interrupt and to insult every man on this floor; it is his privilege, and I accord it to him, freely. But slavery, it seems, is to be abolished, if the Union is dissolved; and the gentleman from Massachusetts says, therefore, dissolve the Union; and that, therefore, it is that those whom he represents say so too; and these are the men in whose ears he is to sound the tocsin of alarm, and whom he avows it is his intention to rouse.

Abolish slavery—and how? Why, according to my colleague, it is to be done by all the negroes running away to Ohio, and some of them through Ohio into Canada. Well, sir, this may do very well for Kentucky, but how is this to work in South Carolina and Georgia? Are they to come into Ohio, too, and make a regular march into Canada? And is no hand to be lifted to interrupt this grand migration, this modern exodus of two millions of people—a migration equal to that of the Goths and Vandals upon the Roman empire? The blacks are to come forth as the Israelites did out of Egypt.—I wonder who is to be their Moses? Is it the venerable gentleman from Massachusetts? A magnificent conception, truly! Abolish slavery! and how? Never in that way.

But the gentleman from Massachusetts does not look to this mode of doing the thing: no, he is not quite so much of a monomaniac as that. He is not so little read in the past history of the world, or so unacquainted with the practical affairs of mankind, nor so unable to look into the causes and springs of national revolutions, as to believe a fond tale like this. What, then, is to be done? Abolished, slavery must be; and, in order to effect that end, the Constitution—that venerable, that sacred, that holy instrument, whose powerful arm, whose eternal voice and whose covering shield had been hitherto our pride and our safety—the Constitution, with all the oaths of the North to support it, must first be broken down, and then the Union is to be abolished. And how? By FORCE. And what next? Why, then the Puritans, the descendants of the British regicides, who were driven out of England by the oppressions and persecutions of the English nobility, and the Cavaliers, who were driven out by the persecutions of the Puritans, after both had united on this side the water, had buried their differences, and had, with their common hands, constructed a new government, united, strengthened, cemented together by the shedding of their common blood, are once more to be driven asunder, and all that fearful strife, which convulsed Europe two hundred and fifty years ago, is once more to affront the sun and pollute the blessed light of Heaven on the soil of these once free and happy States. The descendants of the regicides, true to the principles of their fathers, and the sworn devotees of human liberty, holding in one hand the right to give freedom to all mankind, and holding the sword in the other, elated with the consciousness that they have the numerical majority, are to invade the South and to terminate slavery by the power of the sword. I warn gentlemen that when that shall be done, or attempted to be done, the Cavalier sword will, as it was wont to do, drink blood.

[Here Mr. M. introduced an appropriate poetic quotation, which the reporter is unwilling to murder, and which he heard too imperfectly to save.]

Sir, proceeded Mr. M. there is in that region of the country a state of society which that gentleman cannot alter without involving consequences more horrible, more terrific, than he can now conceive. The gentleman will have gone far when he obtains the preparatory legislative act; but that which must follow, will give him in more terrible fruition all the fruits and boundless consequences of the crime which his constituents now meditate. That for which they ask involves the utter destruction, the obliteration of that race to which he should be allied by color, by a common blood, by education, by association, by descent, by friendship, by near and blessed alliance, by descendants, by every indissoluble ligament that can bind the human heart; or the as certain destruction of that very race towards whose liberation all his efforts are given, and in consummating whose deliverance he hopes to close a long and illustrious life in a blaze of glory, which shall rival that pure eternal light whose halo encircles the name of Wilberforce. If that is his hope, it is one that never can be fulfilled, because there is no parallel between the cases. There is nothing in the enterprise of Wilberforce, in the manner in which it was conducted, or the consequences which were to follow it, which can, for a moment, be likened to that achievement which seems the object of this gentleman's ambition.

But I will speak no longer of this. I do say that the South is vitally interested in the preservation of the Constitution, and it is vain to liken a proposition to dissolve the Union, which involves the destruction of the government and the termination of the republic, to a proposition to amend the Constitution, such as is now under consideration in the other end of this capitol. That proposition seeks to preserve the instrument. It suggests, indeed, a modification of it—a specific modification of it, and in one particular. The suggestion may be acted on. In the distribution of the powers of government you may give more or give less to the legislative or to the executive department, and still the Union will remain; the bonds which hold us together as one people will be unbroken. There will still be such a thing as the United States. There will be such a thing as the people of the United States, and there will remain a Constitution of the United States. That instrument itself has pointed out the only peaceful and legitimate mode of its own amendment, and that is the mode in which this amendment is proposed to be effected. The gentleman says that the proposition now pending in the other branch of the legislature does involve a destruction of this Union. That proposition is a whig measure. And if what the gentleman says is true, whiggery must have wonderfully changed its physiognomy since the day when this illustrious gentleman was President of the United States, and the distinguished gentleman who proposed that measure was Secretary of State. I am myself a whig. I am not, indeed, a very old man; yet it has been my fate to live to see one of these two eminent individuals introduce a proposition to dissolve the Union at one end of the capitol, and the other at the other end! [Laughter, loud and long.]

Oh, sir, "tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon." If the doctrine is true, then these two great political leaders have combined together once more; they are in common consultation to overthrow the Constitution, and I suppose that I, as a good whig, am bound to follow them. The devil take me if I do. [Convulsions of laughter.] That is running the game into the ground with a vengeance.

The voting against this proposition to annul is, I suppose, to be the rare honor of the democracy of the North, and when the question of dissolution shall come up, they alone will be found base enough to desert their northern brethren, and vote for the good old Constitution which their fathers framed, and under which they have lived and enjoyed so much social happiness and prosperity. Now, I have been opposed to the democracy of the North, and to him who was once their great leader, in many of his measures; but when he swore by the Eternal that the Union must be preserved, then I loved him; and if all his public acts had been conformable to this, he should have been my man, too.

Strange indeed is the argument, and strange the positions we have seen taken on this occasion, and well and truly may it be said that we have fallen on evil times. What a strange spectacle is exhibited by this House at this moment! Instead of exerting the legislative powers conferred upon us, and making the necessary provision for the public service, we are disputing on points of constitutional law, until at last those disputes are merged in a question of dissolving the Union. But who is to blame? I did indeed vote for the repeal of the 21st rule; but since I have seen what is, as I believe, the real object of the gentleman from Massachusetts—after he has avowed himself to be an alarmist, and his friend has warned us to remember that he is a descendant of an English band of government overthrowers—I cannot consent to trust him with any thing in which the existence of this government is involved; nor shall I act inconsistently. The 21st rule still remains in force, and I will not lend the gentleman my aid in surreptitiously getting into this House what that rule forbids.

The gentleman has charged me with being an enemy of the North, and with a purpose to oppose her. So far is this from being true, that I am ready to do all that a man in my condition can do to remove all causes of discontent, and to bind together the North and the South by the strongest ties of a mutual commercial interest. I would, to-morrow, if I could, render this our American continent wholly independent of the continent of Europe, and wholly independent of Great Britain too. Could my will prevail, the South should consume nothing that was not the fruit of American labor—aye, and of northern labor—and the North should consume nothing that was not the production of our own soil. I would do this to teach the two sections of this Union that the difference between them, properly understood, is a blessing from the munificent hand of Heaven, and constitutes one of the best and strongest bonds of their lasting union. I am in favor of a tariff, and for that very thing. I am no enemy of the North. I admire northern men and eastern men. I know a little of their past history, and grieved should I be ever to depart from the principles which their philosophers and their political leaders have taught them. I know well what they used to be, and what were their former ideas of the Federal Constitution. But new principles and new opinions are springing up there. Be it so: we have no right to interfere with their right to liberty of opinion: but must this new doctrine be brought here to be acted on by us? I say no. If they want to dissolve the Union, let them do it in their own way; but I say to them, for Heaven's sake don't ask us to do it. I am told that I must not press this resolution, because it is the surest way to bring about such a result; and I am to avow a fear lest such a thing should actually be done. What! is it come to this, that Congress dare not censure one of its own members for bringing into this Hall of American legislation such an atrocious proposition as that which has been read in our ears? It reminds me very much of the words of Hazael to the man of God, who prophesied his treason, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?" But it seems we have come to it. We are warned not to breathe the slightest censure on one of our own members for bringing here the first proposition—yes, the first proposition—that has ever yet been heard in this land, to break down the fair fabric of this Union.

Sir, it goes a whole stone's cast beyond any thing that the southern nullifiers ever dreamed of. We have gone beyond them far away. We are improving on them rapidly. Yes, sir, with gigantic strides. It seems that the New-England brain, in this department, too, as in every other, wants but a hint straightway to improve on it. The Convention that sat at Columbia never took the ground that Congress had power to dissolve the Union; nor did they so much as pretend that they were themselves overthrowing the Constitution; I know what they said, though I differed from them then, and shall forever differ. They said that they were maintaining the Constitution. They insisted that they had a right, though I never could see were they got it from, to arrest the execution of what they deemed an unconstitutional law, until there was time for the voice of all the other States to be heard upon it; but they never pretended that their rights were nullified unless they could come to Congress and pray this body to dissolve the Union. If I vote for any such measure—for a measure which professes to be preparatory to it—I am guilty of perjury; for I have been sworn, over and over, not to destroy, but to support the Constitution. The principles of that instrument are worthy of my support, and I am bound by my oath to uphold it now and forever.

But we are told that the gentleman is an old man, and that therefore we must not censure him; it would be an ungracious act to pass a vote of censure on one so venerable. We are told that the gentleman has indeed some peculiar notions, (and very peculiar they are, I acknowledge,) and, though we don't quite approve of them, he is to be allowed to proceed and carry them out, even to the extent of overthrowing the government, and we must not interfere; and that if we debate on such a subject we are wasting time and sacrificing public interests. A most mild and conciliatory proposal was made to him by the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Botts,) and how was that proposal answered by his friends? I, for one, was willing to give the gentleman an opportunity to answer, when he turned round upon me with words of fire and tones of fury, such as he only could ever utter, while all the passions of his passionate nature burst forth in a blaze, as they always seem ready to do when one hated word, the word South, strikes upon his ear.

Well, sir, next came a proposition to dissolve the Union; and after that such a defense as we have heard. And is this to be slipped over out of contempt? Are we to treat him as some old imbecile, whom it is not worth while to notice? No, sir; far from that. His friends have arrayed him in every quality that can make a man at once great and terrible. They have conceded to his hand every instrument of mighty mischief—gifts of understanding, of eloquence, of knowledge, of dignity, of power, to move the public mind; and yet, after painting him thus, the same gentleman turns round and tells us that he is no fit subject of the action of this House. Sir, I have listened to that gentleman most attentively whenever he has risen to address this House. I have placed myself near his seat and listened with profound attention to every word which has proceeded from his venerable lips. I wanted to see what was really the course he designed to pursue; for one I am convinced.

If the gentleman's own declarations and action, are to be trusted as true exponents of his purpose, his purpose is that which is expressed in the petition he has offered; it is the ultimate and utter ruin of southern institutions; and I now call upon northern men to say whether these are their serious purposes or not. I ask of them to tell me whether these are the views of the able and honorable men who represent northern interests on this floor. Does the North really mean this, and do they put this gentleman forward by the way of feeler, because his age, and dignity, and past services, and venerable appearance are such as will suspend the act of this House to punish him? Do they thus seek to escape personal responsibility? When the gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Giddings,) the other day shook hands, with tears in his eyes with my colleague over the way, and my colleague, with scarce less emotion, shook hands with him, he talked much of friendly understanding and friendly feeling, and assured my colleague, and all southern gentlemen, that he had no thought of such a thing as interfering with slavery within the States where it existed; but he and his friends wanted to be free from the expense of maintaining it; and he was fast going on to explain himself further, when, at that moment, southern gentlemen rose and stopped him. I entreated them not to do so; I implored them to let him talk on.—The gentleman is a neighbor of mine; we are separated but by a narrow river; the views of him and his friends are of deep and vital interest to our section of the country, and we never were so near getting at what those views actually are. I wanted to hear him; I wanted to hear what he would say under this new alliance between himself and my colleague.

This is the first time that any man has been bold enough to introduce on this floor a paper proposing a dissolution of the Union. He ought to be boldly met. If we meet him and his proposition with as decided a temper as he himself exhibits; if we rebuke the infamous proposal to us to break our oaths in tones of the indignant thunder which it justly merits, it will have a healthful effect thoughout this land; it will gladden the heart and strengthen the hands of every loyal, true-hearted American citizen, of whom I well know there are millions at this day in the North; and it will have the novel effect of checking this gentlemen and his associates in any further proceedings they may now meditate in this line of policy.

For all the bitter and envenomed things he has said against me, I forgive him. He said that I boasted of my aristocratic blood. I will not characterize that assertion as it deserves. I forgive him that, too; and oh, were it in my power to exorcise from the heart of that eminent man, that demon of mischief which threatens all that is dear to me—if it were possible that he could be brought,

whose distinguished talents, all whose associations plead so strongly to spare the blow.

Mr. Marshall, before taking his seat, fulfilled his pledge to Mr. Thompson, of Indiana, who had yielded him the floor, by renewing the motion of that gentleman to lay the whole subject on the table, at the same time expressing his earnest hope that the motion he was thus compelled by promise to make, would not prevail.

MR. UPSHUR.

It may be recollected that Mr. Botts a few days since, in debate in the House, spoke of the Secretary of the Navy as having, in conversation, avowed himself in favor of a dissolution of the Union. In reply to an inquiry from Mr. Wise, Mr. Upshur writes a letter, of which the following is an extract:

I will not pretend to say what Mr. Botts can "prove;" but I assert in the most direct and unqualified manner, that he cannot prove the truth of his charge against me by any witness who is himself a man of truth. I understand that charge to be, that I am, or have been, the "advocate of an immediate dissolution of the Union," without qualifications or conditions. I have never, at any time of my life, entertained any such opinion or feeling. On the contrary, I have, on all occasions, advocated union upon the true principles of the Constitution, and have sought to recommend my own principles, upon the ground that they were conservative of the Constitution and the Union. This is well known to you, for with you I have had conversations "for hours," upon this very subject. You say correctly, that I have "printed and published my opinions under almost every form of address, essay, pamphlet, and book;" and if any thing can be found in any one of these publications to justify the charge of Mr. Botts, I will surrender the point.

I think it almost certain, although I cannot recall any particular occasion on which it occurred, that I have expressed a decided preference for a dissolution of the Union over the establishment of systems of policy which I regarded as fatal to all true liberty. I avow the same opinion now: I would sooner see the Union dissolved, than witness the success of this very abolition movement; I would sooner see it dissolved than witness the establishment of a consolidated government, with all power and all right in the hands of an uncontrolled and irresponsible majority; I would sooner see it dissolved than witness the establishment of any principles which violate its true character, and defeat its legitimate objects. These opinions I am very certain that I have often expressed, and I shall often express them hereafter. But, that I am, or ever have been, a disunionist, in any other sense than is here expressed, is utterly untrue.

As soon as Mr. Botts saw Secretary Upshur's letter of denial, he addressed another to the editors of the National Intelligencer, of which the following is an extract:

I have two objects in addressing you this letter: the first is, to request you to republish the letter of Hon. A. P. Upshur, which appeared in the Madisonian of this morning; and the second is, to bespeak the public patience for a few days, until I can collect together the testimony on which I rely to establish the "charge," (since he chooses so to consider it) which I brought against him a few days since in the House of Representatives.

I wish you to publish the letter, because I want all possible publicity given to this flat, positive, and unqualified denial that "he ever had been the advocate of an immediate dissolution of the Union, without qualifications or conditions."

It is precisely on this point that I take issue with the Hon. Secretary, and will undertake to prove from his own pen, as well as his *public* conversations, that there is not only a studied and designed concealment of truth, but a willful and deliberate prevarication in his denial. I take nothing back that I have said; on the contrary, I repeat that *he was an open, unqualified, undisguised, and boasted* advocate for an immediate dissolution of the Union; and I will now add, that he was so without qualification or limitation, since he seems to circumscribe and mystify his position. He denies it, and says I cannot prove it, by any man who is himself a man of truth. This limitation would deprive me of the benefit of the testimony of the Hon. Secretary himself. Nevertheless, I shall use it; I shall make him a prominent witness in his own case; but I shall not be content to rely upon his testimony alone. A question of veracity is thus raised between us. Either he or I have told a falsehood. All I ask is, that the consequences may be visited with the utmost severity upon my head if I do not prove satisfactorily that the Hon. Secretary is the guilty man.

Communications.

LETTER FROM OLIVER JOHNSON.

WATERLOO, Seneca Co. New-York, January 22, 1841.

At the earnest solicitation of the Executive Committee, as well as of friends of our cause in this quarter, I left the city a few days since, with my wife, for the purpose of spending the remainder of the winter in anti-slavery labors in Western New-York. We had been separated so much of the time during the past year, (to say nothing of previous years,) that we had looked forward to this winter with the earnest hope of being permitted to spend it in our warm city home; but the demands for anti-slavery service were so pressing, that we felt it our duty to sacrifice personal feeling to meet those demands, as far as might lie in our power. The aspects of the cause at this time present new incitements to zeal, and fresh motives for faithful and self-denying labor; and the hope that we may be instrumental in doing something for the relief of the thousands whose domestic ties have been sundered by slavery, would be a sufficient reward for tenfold greater sacrifices than we have been called to make.

On our way hither, we stopped for a few days at Peterboro, and received a very cordial welcome from Gerrit Smith and his family. He pressed us to remain long enough to attend a "Liberty Party State Convention," which was to be held in Peterboro, on the 19th and 20th instant; and the desire to see old friends, and to test, by our moral thermometer, the political atmosphere which they respire, induced us to comply with the invitation. I will endeavor to give you an impartial, though brief, account of the proceedings; which I think will not be uninteresting to the readers of the Standard.

The call of the convention was issued by the "*Liberty Party*" State Committee. Of this fact I was not aware, until after the assembly came together. It was notified, on the previous Sabbath, by Gerrit Smith, as the New-York State *Anti-Slavery* Convention; and although I knew that a nomination was to be made of candidates for Governor, and Lieut. Governor, I was under the impression that this was an *incident* rather than the *object* of the convention. This leads me to say, that I think those who have formed an anti-slavery political party, owe it no less to themselves, than to those who differ from them as to the expediency of this measure, to designate their conventions by their appropriate and *distinctive* title. It does not appear quite consistent with good faith, to invite "all sorts of folks" to an anti-slavery meeting, much less to *urge* their attendance, and then exclude all but a particular class from participating in the proceedings. If it is *understood* by a large portion of those who come to *such* a meeting, that they are to take the place of ciphers or mere lookers on, while a selected class do all the business, there can be no reasonable ground of complaint; though it is matter for serious regret, that such distinctions were ever made. In the present instance, *voters* only were allowed to take part in the proceedings; though hundreds of others were present. This, perhaps, was a necessary distinction, according to the theory of a *political party*; but if so, such a party should not assume, as in the present case, to do the work of a general *Anti-Slavery* Convention.

The number of those who attended the convention was variously estimated, from 1,000 to 1,500: 400 of this number were active members; the others were spectators. The people came in sleighs from the neighboring towns and counties; and so great were their numbers, that the two temperance houses, and nearly all the private houses in the village, and within the circle of five miles, were crowded with delegates. The hospitality of the people of Peterboro was unbounded. Nor was this hospitality confined to professed abolitionists. Those who had never taken any part in the anti-slavery movement, welcomed to their houses as many as they could accommodate. The small village, which nestles obscurely among the hills, some eight or ten miles from the great western thoroughfare, presented a lively and cheerful aspect, during the two days of the convention. What a change in public sentiment since October, 1835, when the State Convention, driven from Utica by a mob, sought a place of safety in that home of free hearts! Then the number of delegates was comparatively small; now a host came up from nearly every part of the State. Then the friends of freedom were menaced with violence and met at the peril of their lives; now their presence was hailed as an honor, and their object regarded as noble and praiseworthy, by multitudes who then regarded them as fanatics and incendiaries.

Two pictures, executed by E. W. Goodwin, of Albany, at the request of Gerrit Smith, were suspended over the pulpit during the sessions of the convention. On one of them was inscribed, "Prayer of the Slave to the People of the United States." Under this was a kneeling slave, his body red with the stains caught from recent scourging, lifting his chained hands on high, and casting his eyes imploringly towards the capitol of the United States, while he exclaimed, "*Talk* for me—*Write* for me—*Print* for me—[*Paint* for me]—*Pray* for me—*Vote* for me." On the right, was seen Franklin & Armfield's slave prison, standing under the flag which floated over the Congressional hall; and on the left, a chained coffle, marching before a driver towards a vessel which lay in the stream! The other contained this inscription: "Prayer of the Slave to the Omniscient God." Under this also was a kneeling slave, undergoing flagellation by a savage overseer. As the blood oozed from his lacerated back, his head was raised imploringly to the "All-seeing Eye," and he uttered this prayer: "Incline my fellow-men to *feel* for me, and *do* for me." These pictures made a strong appeal to the sympathies of the people, and added much to their natural enthusiasm.

The audience filled the Presbyterian church to overflowing; and it was said that many went away without being able to gain admission. L. P. Noble, late of Albany, now of New-York city, presided. The sessions were all opened and closed with prayer, by clergymen. The leading spirits in the convention were Beriah Green, H. B. Stanton, Wm. Goodell, Gerrit Smith, Alvan Stewart, George Storrs, and James C. Jackson. Many others, however, took part in the proceedings. The first resolution adopted by the convention was the following:

Resolved, That the liberty party had its origin, not in the artifices of politicians, or the resolutions of conventions, but in the ordinance of Heaven, in the breath of God, impelling men unitedly to assert the claims of holy freedom."

Beriah Green was the author of this resolution; and he was called forward to explain and defend it. The substance of his argument was, that individuals, in different parts of the country, without concert with each other, had been spontaneously driven to the conviction that such a party was absolutely essential as a means of carrying out anti-slavery principles. How this fact proved the divinity of the party, I was at a loss to perceive; unless it was intended to establish the doctrine, that *all* political parties are an ordinance of Heaven; for they all originate, no doubt, in a conviction of their necessity, as a means of effecting certain objects. Mr. Green even went so far as to assert, that common honesty, among voting abolitionists, absolutely required them to concentrate their support upon candidates of their own; and that only a "*qualified* honesty" could exist among those who repudiated this plan! While I am willing to believe that many of the advocates of the third party are honest in the conviction that their scheme is adapted to promote the cause, there are some facts connected with its inception, which I find it difficult to reconcile with the assumption that the "artifices of politicians" had nothing to do in bringing it before the public. There were certain things connected with the Albany Convention, in 1839, that certainly looked very much like "artifices" of somebody.

Rev. John Cross affirmed, that there were only two ways to overthrow slavery; first, by concentrated political action, repealing the slave laws; secondly, by bloody revolution. To pray and not vote, he said, was to insult God, and call upon him to promote insurrection; since that was the only alternative. He seemed to forget, that the masters might be led to emancipate their slaves voluntarily, through the influence of Truth, made effectual by the Spirit of God. The old fallacy, that "slavery is the creature of law," was re-affirmed by Mr. Cross and others, with as much assurance, as if it had never been questioned.

When the resolution, declaring it to be a duty to nominate candidates for Governor, and Lieut. Governor, was brought forward, H. B. Stanton made one of his dashing, off-hand speeches, in which he clearly exhibited the influence of slavery upon the politics and finances of the country.

In the afternoon of the first day, there was an informal balloting for candidates for Governor, and Lieut. Governor. Gerrit Smith having received a large majority of the votes for the former office, and Charles O. Shepard for the latter, they were unanimously declared to be the candidates of the party. Mr. Smith came forward at the call of the convention; and after thanking them for the honor they had conferred, he told them, distinctly and emphatically, that he could not accept the nomination; as he believed it to be the will of God that he should not hold civil office; and he would not take the oath required by the Constitution, even if he were elected. The convention then adjourned. Nearly the whole of the evening session was spent in a fruitless effort to induce, (I should almost say, drive,) Mr. Smith to change his decision. In a meeting of any other party, I should have characterized the proceedings as a "turning of the political screws," to force a compliance with its wishes. Some of the speeches made on the occasion, did not appear to me consistent with the high respect for Mr. Smith which their authors professed. Some appealed to his magnanimity, while others spoke in no equivocal terms of his obligation to submit to the wishes of his party. The following resolution, framed in anticipation of this difficulty, was adopted:

Resolved, That since, in our struggle with the monsters we have, as abolitionists, to contend with, we have a God-given claim upon whatever of wisdom and power heaven may have lent any of our fellows, no man among us ought to refuse any position which his station, endowments, and resources, fit him to honor.

Mr. Smith, however, adhered firmly to his decision; whereupon Alvan Stewart was nominated in his place. Arthur Tappan was voted for by many; but Mr. Stewart, having a majority of all the votes, was declared unanimously nominated.

An address to the people of the State was submitted to the convention by a committee, of which Mr. Stewart was the chairman. Those who have read other productions of the same author, will not expect me to describe this any further than to say, that it abounded with his characteristic wit.

But what struck me more than any other measure adopted by the convention, was an "Address to the Slaves of the United States," written and presented by Gerrit Smith. It commenced with a confession that abolitionists had done wrong, in disavowing an intention to communicate directly with the slaves, and professing to operate upon the minds of the masters alone. The slaves, it was said, had a right to all the words of advice and consolation which their friends could give them; and to deny this, was virtually to admit that slavery was a legitimate institution, which created rights in the master, and destroyed those of the slave. The address proceeded to inform the slaves of what abolitionists were doing for them, and to advise them what they should do, and what they should not do for themselves. It advised them all to run away the first favorable opportunity; and, on their flight, to take, in the free as well as the slave States, any boat, horse, food, or clothing, which might be absolutely necessary to enable them to escape; and to feel no more compunction for so doing, than the drowning man would for seizing the plank that floated in his way! It also advised the friends of the slaves at the South to furnish them with pocket compasses, and matches to strike a light, so that they might know how to steer their course, when it was too dark to see the North star! The address will be published, and cannot fail to electrify the country.

The convention solemnly resolved never to aid the South in quelling an insurrection of slaves.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM W. C. ROGERS.

UTICA, Jan. 18th.

Our dear friend, Oliver Johnson, called on me yesterday, on his way to Western New-York. I should have rejoiced to have accompanied him to the old battle-field; but I am so circumstanced, that the indulgence of such a thought is almost prohibited. He has my best wishes for his success. I think he will find a better state of things than that which we encountered last winter.

C. C. Burleigh gave us, last week, a most glorious lecture. His main argument was on the illegality of slavery. He said there was not a legal slave in the United States. It was *public opinion*, not *law*, which held them in slavery. It was a most triumphant argument in opposition to third party philosophy. Some of our third party abolitionists answered my invitation to attend the lecture, by saying, "I don't wish to hear any dough-face abolitionist lecture."

DAVID RUGGLES.

The anti-slavery friends will rejoice to see by the following, that our afflicted brother has recovered his sight by a very simple process, after the unavailing efforts of various physicians:

NEW ROCHELLE, Jan. 1842.

At the hospitable dwelling of my true friends and benefactors, Joseph and Margaret Carpenter, (may the blessings of Heaven attend them!) I have received my sight, by the use of a lotion prepared by Mrs. Carpenter. The opacity which obscured the *light*, has been removed. I can see once more to use my pen, and urge this guilty nation to immediate emancipation. God be praised for this inestimable blessing!

DAVID RUGGLES.

LETTER TO J. S. GIBBONS.

BOSTON, Jan. 14th, 1842.

RESPECTED FRIEND:

Though I have never seen you face to face, I feel free to address you as my friend. He who is a friend to the outcast and enslaved, is, of necessity, a friend of all the free. I rejoice, at this time, to be the medium through which a widow's mite is transmitted to the suffering and oppressed. The severest trial I find in poverty is, to see so much poverty and wretchedness, that funds would relieve, while I have nothing to bestow. It gives me great joy to be made an instrument, as now, to convey to the ever dear cause of the suffering, a little aid.

The enclosed ten dollars, are to be credited in the National Anti-Slavery Standard, to "A friend of the Slave," in Berlin, Mass. The same "friend" has done for the cause before, and I hope will again.

Yours, for the slave,
DANIEL S. WHITNEY.

ANECDOTE.

Last Sabbath I went to the Baptist church in Northampton, and heard a sermon on the worth of the soul. Capt. ——— sometimes drops asleep in the midst of the sermon. He did so on this occasion; and the minister, Mr. Dolittle (the abolitionists did not give him that nickname; it is his *real* name) addressed him thus: "Friend ——— wake up, and listen to an important subject. It is very unpleasant to preach, when hearers are asleep!" There was a profound silence, and heads up, I assure you. On Monday morning, the noble-hearted sleeper sent the minister a large spare rib of pork to pay for waking him up.

I wish Mr. Dolittle would venture such a shot, now and then, at those who are sleeping over the "important subject" of slavery. However, if he did, I don't believe slaveholding Baptists would send a barrel of sugar, or a bale of cotton, either for him, or Baptist missions connected with his name; and I very much doubt whether he would get a turkey, or a spare rib, from slave-apologizing Baptists at the North. * *

AN ADDRESS

From the New-York Association of Friends, for the Relief of those held in Slavery, and the Improvement of the Free People of Color, to its Members, and Friends generally.

Under a feeling, we trust, of that love that breathes "peace on earth, and good will to men," we affectionately salute you, our dear, absent brethren and sisters, craving both for you and us, the blessing of preservation.

Impressed with the conviction that it is only while we live under the influence of this love, that we can be *preserved*, our prayer is, that we may cherish it, as the apple of our eye, amid the various vicissitudes that may attend our passage through time. Thus may we be enabled to "rejoice evermore, * * * * in every thing give thanks." Prosperity, adversity, persecution, the favor, or the frowns of men, will not then greatly effect us. These will pass away, while the rock, on which the Christian stands, remains immovable.

The concern of the association for the free people of color has been attended to. We found day schools for colored *children* already in operation; but there was a large body of *adults* in this city, who had grown up without opportunity of literary instruction, which they would gladly obtain, but whose age, and daily avocations, excluded from availing themselves of the benefits of the day schools. For this class we opened a school four evenings in a week; the public school-house in Mulberry street, having been granted us for that purpose. More that one hundred persons have entered their names, and the average attendance is about fifty. In our next annual report, we expect to give more ample information on this subject.

Such of you as attended our last yearly meeting, could scarcely have been insensible to the unfriendly feeling manifested by some, towards our association, and its measures. You need not now be told that three of its members had been taken under dealing, on the charge of "being concerned in the publication and support of a paper, which has a tendency, to excite disunity and discord among us." The paper alluded to, is the "Anti-Slavery Standard.

We rejoice that this charge was of so simple a character that all can understand it. Those who have read this periodical, and knows the effect that it has produced on their own minds, can best say, how far this charge was well founded. For ourselves, we know not of a more unexceptionable paper for a Friend's family; and we believe it eminently calculated to heal the discord that the dark, and mercenary spirit of slavery has diffused throughout our land; a spirit which has banefully infected our *own*, as well as other religious bodies. The overseers of the Monthly meeting of New-York, thought otherwise; and promptly entered their complaint, which was entertained by the meeting. Through the earnest mediation of some esteemed Friends, sincere endeavors were made to come at some arrangement that would be mutually satisfactory. These efforts proved unavailing. It did not appear that any thing would satisfy the Monthly meeting, short of what, in the view of those under censure, would have compromitted the precious testimony, they had to bear. This they could not do, without giving up a portion of their civil and religious liberties, and wounding the peace of their own minds. Under these circumstances, they did not falter; and have borne the consequences *in disownment*. They have appealed, and in two of the cases the proceedings of the Monthly meeting have been sustained by the Quarterly meeting of Westbury. The third is yet pending.

Had these proceedings affected the rights of these individuals only, the matter would have been of comparatively small moment; but in our view, they involve the rights and the reputation of the whole society; and will assuredly become a part of its history. The result, we believe, will decide the question of the support or abandonment of our noble testimony against slavery, by the Yearly meeting of New-York.

It is sorrowful to reflect, that, after a conflict so recently passed through in our religious society, in which the tenderest ties of social and religious fellowship were rudely torn asunder, the lessons of toleration those events were calculated to impress, have been so soon forgotten. The individuals under censure well knew, that Friends in this city were too unfavorably situated to make it reasonable to expect them, as a united body, to support our testimony against slavery. They did not ask it; neither were they prepared to admit that the Monthly meeting had a right to require of its members, individually, that they should not advance that testimony, by aiding in the establishment of such periodicals as they believed, would best promote that end. Such an assumption of power, we believe, was never before attempted in the society; nor could they yield to it. "No, not for an hour."

We have, from time to time, received evidences of the sympathy of our distant friends, particularly from the association similar to our own, in Philadelphia. These proofs of unity and affection have been a cordial to us. We are, however, constrained to take a discouraging view of the general state of our religious society. Yet think not that we despair of it; far less of the glorious testimonies to the Truth, for the extension of which it was raised up. The seed that was sown by our faithful predecessors, amid suffering and tears, has brought forth a rich harvest, which others are beginning to reap; and whether Friends resume, or abandon the field, in this, the heat of the day, the work will go on.

Persecution has always so unpleasing an aspect, that no religious society will now admit it to their bosom, unless it come, disguised in a garb of piety. Happily for mankind, it is a spirit, that while it seeks to coerce others to its views, most annoys the breast in which it dwells. The world no longer inflicts it upon us. It however, brightened our predecessors; and may not *we* profit by the portion of it allotted us, by our mistaken brethren, and count it all joy to suffer in so good a cause?

To those, wherever, scattered, who would faithfully support our testimony against slavery, we would say, "Trim your lamps, and watch;" for the period is approaching when the command may be given to *you*, as it was to Gideon's band, of old, "Break the pitchers that hide your lamps?

Signed by direction, and on behalf of a meeting of the acting committee of the association, held in New-York, the 7th of 2nd month, 1842.

CHARLES MARRIOTT, } *Clerks.*
MARY N. BEALE, }

TALES OF OPPRESSION.

BY ISAAC T. HOPPER.

No. LI.

Tobias Boudinot.

In the year 1835, Judge Thomas Chinn, of Mississippi, came to this city, and brought with him a slave, for whom it was said he had given fifteen hundred dollars while on his way here. The Judge had been in this city but a few days, before the slave eloped, and was advertised in the papers, with a reward of five hundred dollars offered for his apprehension. Soon after the advertisement appeared, some mischievous person addressed an anonymous note to the Judge, informing him that his slave was concealed by me some where about the store which I then kept, in Pearl street. A warrant was procured, and put in the hands of a well-known slave hunter, by the name of Tobias Boudinot who had rendered himself notorious in that kind of business. Highly elated with the prospect of receiving five hundred dollars, as the reward of his iniquity in capturing the fugitive, he, accompanied by the judge, and a considerable number of southerners, who were here on business, came to the vicinity of my store, and distributed themselves at short distances from one another, in order to arrest him, in case he should attempt to escape. I was in my office, back of the store, unconscious of what was going on. It seems they waited for near an hour, expecting I would go out; preferring to make the assault in my absence. At length, some business called me to a house, a few doors down the street. I had been gone but a few minutes, leaving my son in the store, when four or five persons rushed in; and after looking round and not seeing their victim, sprang out of the back window, from which they jumped into the yard, a distance of about ten feet. Some of them were very near falling into the cistern, which was under the window. My son came immediately to inform me, and I returned without delay. Before I got there, they left my premises, and were searching a book-bindry in the rear, and some other houses in the neighborhood. When the inhabitants complained of such unceremonious intrusion, Boudinot informed them that he was looking for a felon; but my son soon undeceived them on that point; which highly enraged him, and one of the party give him a blow in the face.

After I returned, I observed a respectable-looking man in the street frequently peeping into my office; and as soon as he would catch my eye, step back, as though he wished to escape observation. After he had repeated this manœuvre several times, I went to the door, and said to him, "My friend, if thou hast business with me, come in, and let me know what it is; do not be peeping about my premises." He went directly away, and turning the corner, which was a few doors above my store, proceeded down Oak street. I followed him a few rods, where I saw a group of people, who appeared much agitated. Upon going to them, I soon discovered that they were the persons, who had, a few minutes before, so rudely trespassed upon my premises. Among the company, I saw a man whom I supposed was Boudinot; for I did not then know him personally, though I was no stranger to his character and calling. I asked his name, which he refused to give. I then thus addressed him, "Art thou the impertinent fellow, who had the assurance to trespass upon my premises in my absence." He replied, "I have a warrant, and I am determined to execute it." Upon his saying so, I observed, "Judas betrayed his master for thirty pieces of silver; and I suppose for a like sum thou wouldst seize thy brother by the throat, and drag him into interminable bondage. If thy conscience was as susceptible of conviction and compunction as his was, thou wouldst probably do as he did, and thus rid the community of an intollerable nuisance." One of the southerners, with a most contemptuous sneer, said, "Brother!" I added, "Yes, *brother*." I returned to my store, but in a few minutes was informed that they were in Pearl street, a few doors above, abusing a colored man. I went there, and found them railing at a decent-looking colored man, whom Boudinot was holding by the collar, and upon whom they were heaping the most approbrious epithets, and the most violent and profane language. I inquired what all this meant? what had the man done to offend them? Boudinot said had he no business there, and refused to go away. I told him that the man had as much right in the street as he had; and that if he (Boudinot) had business there, it would be well to attend to it; and if he had not, he had better go home, and not be collecting a crowd and raising a tumult in the street. Several of the company had dirks, and some of them pistols. One or two exhibited those deadly weapons, and menaced my son and myself with death, if we interfered. I called upon Boudinot to arrest them; and told him that, as an officer, (for he was a constable,) it was his duty to do so; and if he refused, I would complain of him and have him displaced. Seeing I was not to be trifled with, and fearing the consequences, he made the arrest; but when we got to the police office, the culprits were not to be found, and Boudinot alledged that they had made their escape.

A few days after, my son, who had offended those marauders by his interference in this case, was peaceably walking up Chatham street on his way home, about nine o'clock in the evening, when some person behind him knocked him down, and beat him in a most cruel and savage manner; so that he was obliged to keep his chamber a considerable time. Not a doubt can be reasonably entertained that it was some of the persons who had been engaged in the nefarious transactions above-mentioned.

Judge Chinn, I was informed, never recovered his *property*; and I have been told the *chattel* located himself in Victoria's dominions; though the Judge expressed his full belief that he would return to his service; and would never have left it, if he had not been persuaded to do so by some abolitionists. For my own part, I can say I never saw the fugitive. If any human being is to be despised, above all others, as an enemy to the human race, it is a slave hunter regardless of the sighs, groans, and tears of his fellow-men.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, FEB. 10, 1842.

MR. UPSHUR, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

This gentleman is referred to, in the interesting debate on the resolution to censure J. Q. Adams, as having recently declared that *the Union ought to be dissolved*. This can be no surprise to those acquainted with his history. He is an inhabitant (saving his official sojourn at Washington) of the old eastern shore of Virginia; the very hot-bed of slavery. He was a member of the Virginia Convention in 1829, and made the opening speech in that body, in favor of basing their new constitution on slavery. The speech was ingenious and plausible; but, if I recollect right, disclosed an open and thorough apostacy from the fundamental principles of our political system; which up to that time no man had dreamed of, since the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Upshur, Mr. Phillip Barbour, afterward Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Mr. Leigh, took the same side. The general course of argument was this: "There is no such thing as original political *principles*; what the State settles and determines, as upon the whole the best, is right. Thus in every State women are cut off, at the outset, from all political power; classes of men are treated in the same way; as paupers, and minors. If there be natural, inherent, and inalienable rights, by what authority has every State excluded certain classes from its system of polity? If it is allowable to go thus far, on the ground of public policy, what forbids you to go still farther? Why should you not go as far as those having the interest and the power may think proper and expedient?"

Assuming that whatever the *State* had established, or might establish, was right, and following premises to legitimate results, they must inevitably come to the conclusion that the Declaration of Independence was a mere "string of abstractions." In short, their principles of political morality, in the last analysis, come precisely to this—that *might makes right*.

"The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should get who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

It was a complete and unblushing revival of the system of the Holy Roman Empire, to sustain and sustain despotism and profligacy in the person of Charles II. Thus Hobbes announces the basis of his system: "That Force and Fear are the foundation of moral distinctions."

It is remarkable that when these principles were put forth in England, in an age comparatively unenlightened, they were immediately assailed by all men making any pretensions to virtue; especially by the clergy.—The pulpit thundered like Sinai; especially that of the established church, which had come back with the king. The book was censured by Parliament, and a bill introduced into the House of Commons to punish the author for atheism and profaneness. Yet when these doctrines were revived by professed republicans, in the Virginia Convention, they passed without particular notice from any quarter. I never heard that even one Right Reverend Prelate of Virginia set upon them the seal of his reprobation. When we consider the important national results of having such views entertained and carried out in Virginia, it is wonderful that the clergy of other States took no cognizance of the case.

The secret of their silence is probably this: These principles and arguments were necessarily and obviously shaped to support slavery; and diabolical as they were, a church and clergy universally implicated in slavery, more or less remotely, could not consistently denounce them. So far from receiving reproof, Judge Upshur gained great popularity by that speech.

What his opinions are generally *understood* to be, with regard to the dissolution of the Union, may be inferred from the fact, that he was universally supposed to be the author of "The Partisan Leader;" and so general was the impression, that his friends deemed it proper to come out with a formal and public denial of the charge.

The book in question dates in advance of the present time, at a period when it is supposed that the union of these States is already dissolved. It is written with little intellectual ability, and is chiefly observable for its fierce and malignant hostility to northern opinions and principles. Its morality is of the superficial kind that is based on the code of honor; and as a natural result, its estimate of women rises no higher than the laws of chivalry. Whoever the author is, veneration for the Union was evidently held in bitter contempt by him, at the time he wrote it; though he, too, would doubtless advocate the Union, if the *State* is always to decide whether principles are right or wrong, and the *South is always to control the State*.—D. L. C.

COTTON BULWARKS.

It has been generally supposed that this sort of military defense was new at the time it was employed against the British, at New Orleans. The merit of originating it has been awarded to the American commander; it has also been claimed for a colored man, then serving in our army; his name, however, is not given, and the story must be considered apocryphal. But the idea, if original on that occasion, was not new. Fortifications of this kind were known in the East, at least three hundred years ago. In the year 1546, the army of the king of Cambay, commanded by Coge Sofar, erected several forts against the Portuguese, of which the *breast-works were bale sof cotton*. The Portuguese were astonished and dismayed, on discovering, by the light of the morning, a vast and complete fortress confronting them at a little distance, where they had seen nothing but smooth ground the night before.

Coge Sofar was by birth an Albanian. He served first under the emperor Charles V. Subsequently he became a merchant; and while navigating the Mediterranean with three vessels, laden with his merchandise, he was captured by an Egyptian squadron, robbed of his wealth, and reduced to slavery. In this state, he was presented by the Egyptain captain to the Sultan of Cairo, as a captive of more than common importance. Here, by means of his military knowledge, acquired in the wars of Italy and Flanders, he rose to the first offices under the Sultan; but in consequence of the jealousy and hatred of the bashaws, he was stripped of his honors and degraded to his former miserable state of servitude. Nothing daunted, he set himself to work to repair his fortunes, and by great industry, humility, and prudence, again rose to wealth and honor in the service of his master; but his object was now revenge. Having disposed everything for flight, he killed the Sultan and his son, in the night, and escaped, with immense treasures, to Cambay. He was well received by the Sultan Badur, and became the first nobleman of the empire. Under Mahamud, the successor of Badur, he commanded the army of Cambay, in the war with the Portuguese; and was finally killed, in the midst of his officers, by a random shot from the fortress of Dice, which carried away his head.

In the same war there were two Ethiopian generals of noted skill and valor, who had served in the armies of the Mogul. Their services were obtained at a great price, by Mahamud.—D. L. C.

LORD MORPETH.

A Boston correspondent, speaking of this distinguished friend of freedom, says: "I was charmed with his deportment at our Anti-Slavery Fair. It was natural, unaffected, gracefully self-forgetful. It was in fact republican in its best sense. He spoke with the highest respect of reformers, as being the first and greatest; and evinced a desire to inform himself of the whole history of the rise and progress of our enterprise. He gave his autograph without reluctance and without pretension; with no artificial effort to diminish or increase its value."

Odd coincidences happen in this world. It is strange enough that a peer of England, nurtured in the very bosom of aristocracy, should be a more consistent advocate of human rights and universal freedom, than our self-boasting democracy. What will the proud cavaliers of the South say to this recreant nobleman? President Tyler should present him a copy of Philip Van Artevelde, with the following passage marked:

"You are a noble born, my Lord of Oceo;
And let me tell you, many marvel much
To find a gentleman of so great worth
A flatterer of the Commons.
It looks not well when nobles fall away
One from another. That the *small* craft here
Should lift their hands against their natural lords,
Is but the plague and sorrow of the time—
Which we, that are of credit, must abide;
But ne'er till now a gentleman of name
Was found among their leaders."

Lord Morpeth is the advocate of popular rights at home as well as abroad; and is the darling of the English people.—L. M. C.

PETERBORO CONVENTION.

In reading the interesting letter of Oliver Johnson, the reflecting reader will not fail to observe the fallacy of the argument urged by the Convention, that the slave laws can be repealed only by concentrated political action; meaning at the North, of course. The fact seems to be overlooked that the free States have no power whatever over the laws of the slave States. If every one of our representatives in Congress were third party abolitionists, they could not change the laws of the southern States; because the general government has no jurisdiction over them.

If we cannot convince slaveholders that emancipation is a sacred duty, and therefore the highest expediency, by urging facts and arguments founded on the plainest laws of justice and humanity, on the clearest maxims of political economy, and the most obvious deductions of prudential policy—why, then, there is no help for them. If they cannot be saved by moral influence, they must go to destruction in the way of their own choosing. Even if we could coerce them, what good would it do? It would be like applying a powerful wash to drive inward a dangerous eruption; the disease would still exist, ready to break out again in aggravated forms. On this point, we would recommend a careful perusal of Dr. Channing's excellent remarks, under the head of Political Party Abolition, in our last paper.

The resolution not to assist the South in quelling insurrection, is doubtless founded in a sense of right. We cannot conceive that any conscientious friend of human freedom could aid in such a work. But we should regret to see such resolutions passed in anti-slavery meetings, unless they were so well guarded, as to admit of no misconstruction of our motives. It should be stated that while we think it wrong to *excite* insurrection, we consider it equally wrong to take part against the oppressed in case of insurrection.—L. M. C.

THE FREE WILL BAPTISTS AND SMITHFIELD ACADEMY, R. I.

The superintendent of this seminary has written us a very long letter in reply to certain charges, brought some time ago, by Abby Kelley. The state of things at Washington presents an aspect so interesting to abolitionists, that in order to make room for Congressional reports, we are obliged to crowd out of our columns many things that we wish to insert. To publish this long document is out of the question; but from a desire to do perfect justice, we will endeavor to give a fair, though condensed, view of its principal points.

1. The Free Will Baptists were *not* actuated by "worldly policy" in their anti-slavery professions. In taking this stand, they had as much to lose as others, in proportion to their numbers; the sect being scattered in all parts of the Union. Men of property, standing, and extensive influence, had been conscientiously rejected when they applied for membership; and that solely on the ground of their slaveholding.

2. Smithfield Seminary at North Scituate, was based on abolition principle. It was agreed at the outset to admit people of all complexions. For this reason the wealthy and influential have felt no interest in its prosperity, and it has had to struggle with pecuniary difficulties. Experience, as well as common sense, prove that it would have been good "worldly policy" not to *offend pro-slavery prejudices*.

It is said we have received "many a windfall" from abolitionists. We can only say we have not found that money flows into our treasury faster than it did before we publicly took abolition ground. All that has been added to our missionary fund, *professedly* on that account, has been somewhere about one hundred dollars; and that principally from Gerrit Smith. We have, indeed, heard of the probability of receiving $2,000 by will, on certain conditions. How much we might have gained from the slaveholders, by pursuing an opposite course, we know not; much or little, we could not conscientiously receive it. As for the case of Stenis, we neither know nor care whether his statement about placing a son at our seminary was a pretence or not. He has made no application to that effect. The Committee utterly disclaim the possibility of being influenced to swerve from principle for such considerations.

3. It is said "the Hall of the Seminary was refused to the Convention." There was good reason for this. We have a boarding-school, of 140 students, and the hall is our principal schoolroom. I told the applicants that I could not spare it, even for a religious association of our own denomination.

As for the "notice posted on the pulpit,"—it merely meant that we were willing to have an orderly anti-slavery meeting, but not an angry political altercation. The confusion that prevailed—people talking in all parts of the house, jumping on the tops of pews, &c.,—the excitement of the suffrage party, in answer to charges brought against them—the cry of fire, which occasioned a great rush—the impossibility of calming the tumult—these things, the committee deemed a sufficient reason for adjourning the meeting; on the ground that the agreement, on which the house was opened, had been violated.

4. It has been said that we "refused our hall, some three weeks previous, to Douglas," the fugitive slave. The fact is, we appointed a meeting for him in the Baptist meeting-house, as more convenient. We took pains to give publicity to the appointment, and the meeting was well attended. Mr. Douglas dined with me, at the head of my table, by my invitation. He performed devotional exercises in the hall, and would, at my request, have addressed the students, had he not been too much exhausted. We could not have treated any of our own religious brethren with more personal respect.

We do not wish to boast of our fruits, which are certainly imperfect enough; but we do maintain that, as a denomination, we have done what we could for the anti-slavery cause; that a large majority of our members are decided abolitionists; and that persevering efforts are being made to lead the rest into correct principles.

HOSEA QUIMBY.

☞ The rumor of the death of Julia Pell White, proves to be false. We are happy to hear from her own hand that she is alive and well.

☞ The Treasurer acknowledges the receipt of two dollars from Benjamin Chase, West Chester, N. H. and one dollar and fifty cents from Lewis Ford, of Abington, for the use of Hiram Wilson, Upper Canada.

☞ We gratefully acknowledge the receipt of official documents from Washington, by the politeness of Hon. Seth M. Gates.

DOUGH-FACE.—It is not generally known that this is a corruption of the original phrase contemptuously applied to northerners by "Randolph of the Roanoke." *His* expressive phrase was "Doe-face;" that animal having a very startled and timid look.

The editor of the Herald of Freedom will please send that paper to Milo D. Pettibone, Delaware, Delaware co. Ohio, and charge this office.

The editor of the Anti-Slavery Missionary Herald, Wethersfield, Ct. will please send three copies of that paper to Edward Wade, Esq. Cleveland, Ohio, and charge to his account.

Anti-Slavery Items.

GERRIT SMITH'S SLAVES.—Our readers will remember the account we published last summer of certain slaves purchased and set at liberty by this excellent man; they being the descendants of a woman whom Mrs. Smith had given away to her brother, in the days of her youth. This account has been read with interest on the other side of the Atlantic. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter thus speaks of it: "The noble and costly act of emancipation, by which the American abolitionist has distinguished himself, will be fully appreciated in this country, and certainly must exercise an important influence in the United States. We must also express our gratification at the spirited and *prudent* conduct of our old friend and valued coadjutor, James Canning Fuller. We may here notice, likewise, that Colonel Miller, whose ardent bearing was conspicuous in the General Anti-Slavery Convention, is turning his courage to good account, by going as an anti-slavery agent into the southern States, at his own expense."

SWEDISH SLAVERY.—A Stockholm correspondent of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, declares that there is much reason to believe that emancipation in the Swedish colonies will be accomplished at the next meeting of the Diet, upon the principle of purchase by the nation.

BRAZIL.—When slave ships have been captured by British cruisers and carried into Rio Janeiro, it has heretofore been the habit of the court of mixed commissioners there, to bind out the liberated Africans as apprentices in the city and neighborhood. In a slaveholding country this was, of course, only another name for what was in fact slavery. It is now proposed to send such captured persons to the free British colonies; a measure approved by the Brazilian government, but not agreeable to the populace. When the steamship, Venezuela, was about to depart from Rio for British Guiana, with such passengers on board, it was deemed unsafe to have her depart without an armed convoy; even then the Brazilians fired a few shots after her.

They have been talking at Rio of forming a *Colonization* Society, to induce as many European emigrants as possible, and as many black emigrants from Africa, to be colonized *into* Brazil, "with their own consent;" promising that both shall be received on equal terms, and treated in the same manner. A writer in one of the Rio papers says: "I have dreamed of this as a good project by which to avoid slavery in Brazil, and at the same time to increase our population. And should the philanthropic government of England not consent to our employment of Africans, or negros, as *immigrants*, every man, however blind, will perceive that the intentions of that government are to reduce us to the most deplorable misery."

The old rat knows the cat, though she does try to make herself resemble a nice heap of meal. The British and Foreign Reporter answers, "We wish to intimate to this writer that the people and government of Great Britain are *not* dreaming; but, on the anti-slavery question at least, are wide awake.—We want no change of *names*, but of *things*. But, if Brazil would have an increase of her population without the slave trade, *let her abolish slavery*, and it will follow of course."

BLESSINGS OF COLONIZATION.—Our readers are well acquainted with the abominably oppressive regulations recommended to the Maryland Legislature by the late Slaveholders' Convention. The Colonization Journal, with great self-exultation, says: "Were it not for the labors of the colonization society—were it not that they have prepared for the free colored man a home in Africa, where he could enjoy privileges and blessings, which no other land could offer—we believe that if the propositions recommended by the Convention should ever become the laws of the land, they would, from their very nature, be null and impracticable." It then addresses the free colored people, reproaching them, with the blandest benevolence of style, for their ingratitude in not having received the warning of the Colonization Society with becoming thankfulness. They point to the cruel and tyrannical measures of the Slaveholders' Convention, to the mobs of Cincinnati, and the expulsion of colored people from cars on northern railroads, and exultingly exclaim, "Have not events confirmed our predictions?" Well may those prophesy results, who are the very ones to bring them about. The members of that Convention were themselves colonizationists; the Society is one of their most powerful screwing machines. Those who instigate mobs to drive colored people out of Ohio—those who drag dark complexioned citizens out of northern cars—all have the highest opinion of the colonization society. Again we repeat, well may those prophesy of evil, who themselves perform it.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.—A very large number of petitions have been presented in favor of the repeal of the intermarriage law, and against railroad companies making any distinction between passengers on account of complexion.

THE CREOLE.—The Mobile Register says: "The report that the inhabitants of Kingston, Jamaica, refused to receive the Creole negroes proves, as we had suspected, incorrect. They were all welcomed as heroes, and sent into various parts of the island for better security."

THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.—The editor of the Emancipator, writing from Washington, says: "There is not much present danger of a war with England on this subject. It is understood that the President and his cabinet disapprove the grounds taken by Mr. Stevenson; though I do not understand that they accede to the propositions of Lord Aberdeen."

NEW PAPERS.—We thank our opponents in Cincinnati for having established a weekly paper, called "The Cincinnati Post and Anti-Abolitionist." Few things can help us so much as to have false principles sail boldly under their own colors. The following is an extract from our new coadjutor:

"For ourselves, we look upon the abolition of slavery in the South as one of the greatest *curses* that could fall upon us as a nation, and to them in particular; and, so far from its being an evil, we look upon it as having done more towards happifying a *degraded* race, than all the missionaries that philanthropy and religion have ever sent forth."

An anti-slavery sheet has been lately issued in Cleveland, Ohio, called "The Declaration of Independence." Motto, "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal" &c.

"The Boadman's Advocate" is the title of a small anti-slavery paper, published at Great Falls, New-Hampshire. Motto, "The question is, not how your slaves are *treated*, but what right have you to *hold* them."

"The Northern Star and Freeman's Advocate," is published by an association of colored citizens in Albany. It advocates abolition, of course; for colored people are so naturally anti-slavery, as hens are anti-hawk.

Congressional.

IN SENATE, January 28.

The Legislature of Alabama have presented to the Senate Resolutions *in favor of the annexation of Texas to the United States.*

The editor of the Emancipator says: "Remonstrances, perhaps, had better, for the present, be sent to the Senate; as it is most probable the deed will be done by treaty, and the ratification of a treaty, requires a vote of two-thirds of the Senate."

It is worthy of note, that *simultaneously with this movement a bill was introduced into the Senate of Texas, directing the President of that "young and interesting republic" to negotiate with the United States, on the subject of annexation.*

The papers relating to the Creole case have been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

HOUSE OF REPRENTATIVES, January 28.

Mr. Adams's question of privilege again came up.—Mr. Johnson of Md. believed the Georgia petition was a hoax upon Mr. Adams; his reason for thinking so was that the letter and petition were written on *congressional* paper.

Mr. Adams replied that if it were a hoax, it was an unpardonable insult to the house, and the breach of privelege to him was greater than if the paper was genuine. Great pains had been taken to make it appear a genuine document; if written in Congress, it had been sent to Georgia, the more completely to deceive him. He called upon W. C. Johnson to say whether he was privy to the composition of these papers. Mr. Johnson replied that he had never seen them, till he saw them at the Clerk's desk.

Mr. Marshall's amendments to Mr. Gilmer's resolution of censure upon Mr. Adams came up; and Mr. Marshall vindicated his resolutions in a long and rapid speech, which will be found on our first page.

A motion to lay the whole subject on the table was lost.

Mr. Adams replied that the real question involved was whether it was a crime for him to present a petition to the House; and he asked in what part of the Constitution this act was thus defined. He said there was a formidable combination of Tylerites, Kentuckians, Georgia and Virginia Whigs, and the northern friends of "peculiar institutions," all united to prevent his presenting a petition for the redress of grievances. He demanded a trial by a jury of his peers on the charge preferred against him; and sent to the Clerk to be read, resolutions calling on the several departments for documents necessary to his defense. The third of these called on the President to state whether he had expressed by letters to W. C. Johnson, his approbation of the 21st rule; or whether he had authorized Henry A. Wise to affirm, in his place, that he *knew* the President was in favor of rules excluding any class of petitions.

This was, of course, laid on the table; only 57 voting against it. Nobody knew better than Mr. Adams that the House had no right to demand of Mr. Tyler his private letters and conversation; he chose this mode to draw public attention to a fact which nobody denies.

JANUARY 29.

Mr. Fillmore asked permission of Mr. Adams, that his question of privilege be set aside; and proposed that the house, by unanimous consent, proceed to take up the bill, amended by the Senate, providing for an issue of treasury notes.

Mr. A. replied that he had more than once declared that he would not be responsible for the consumption of one moment of the time of this House in relation to the question which had been engaging its attention for several days past. So far, therefore, as he was concerned, and however important to him was his defense against the charges which had been brought against him, he was willing to yield to any motion by which the business of the nation should be taken up and acted upon.

After considerable discussion, the amended treasury note bill was put to vote. It was a tie vote.

The Speaker (with great promptness) voted in the affirmative, causing the vote to stand: Yeas 101 nays 100.

So the amendment was concurred in, [and the bill needs only the signature of the President to become a law.]

It stands now in the following form:

Be it enacted, &c. That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to cause treasury notes to be issued for such sum or sums as the exigencies of the government may require; and in place of such of the same as may be redeemed, to cause others to be issued; but not exceeding the sum of five millions of dollars of this emission outstanding at any one time, and to be issued under the limitations and other provisions contained in the act entitled "An act to authorize the issuing of treasury notes," approved the twelfth of October, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven; except that the authority hereby given to issue treasury notes shall expire at the end of one year from the passage of this act.

After receiving a communication from the President, transmitting a Report from the Secretary of War concerning the origin, &c. of the Seminole war, the House adjourned.

Little business was done for several days, in consequence of the attendance of both houses upon the funeral services of Hon. Nathan F. Dixon, Senator from Rhode Island.

☞ One of the most remarkable signs of the times is a petition from *Virginia*, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; setting forth that "it is a sin against God, and a foul stain on our national character." It is signed by *ninety-three* men in Lewis county, which is in the northern part of the interior of the State—a free-laboring, grain-growing district, which has been much filled up lately with the sturdy northern farmers who have been emigrating thither from Pennsylvania.—The petition was sent to J. M. Botts, of Va.; who has published a letter in the National Intelligencer, stating the reasons why he declines to present such a mischievous document to Congress.

FEBRUARY 3.

After various petitions and resolutions of a local nature, Mr. Marshall's resolutions of censure upon Mr. Adams again came up; and a long debate ensued.

Mr. Gilmer, of Virginia, stated that, as the mover of the original proposition which had given rise to this entire proceeding, he was willing now, after all that had been said and done, to withdraw the resolution he had offered, and which, together with the amendments proposed by the gentleman from Kentucky, was now under consideration by the House, provided that the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts was willing, on his part, to withdraw the petition he had offered praying for a dissolution of the Union.

Mr. Adams replied. In the face of this House, yesterday, I declared, with a solemn appeal to my God, that, in presenting the petition, I had acted under a sense of duty, from which I could not dispense myself. That is the answer I give to the gentleman from Virginia, who heard it.

Then, said Mr. Gilmer, I am not likely to withdraw the resolution; for I feel myself constrained, by a sense of duty as high, as solemn, and as sacred, as that which the gentleman from Massachusetts professes, to persevere in urging and supporting the proposition I have made to the House.

Mr. Gilmer urged the passage of his resolution of censure, in a long and severe speech. He disavowed any personal hostility to Mr. Adams. He once respected him as an aged and venerable public servant. He had no pleasure in contrasting the present with the past—the feeble, disastrous twilight of the setting sun, with its more splendid meridian.

"My great objection to this whole proceeding is, that it is calculated to familiarize the public mind with the idea of breaking up the Union. The people of the United States know their rights, and, "knowing, dare maintain them." There is no doubt or difficulty on that point. The great object, duty, and aim of Congress should be to heal, as far as possible, all local discontents, and soften and put an end to all sectional differences and difficulties.

I confess that, for one, I prefer to rest on things as they are, as long as I can; and while I would not indulge any unnecessary distrust in regard to the gentleman from Massachusetts, I still think that his action would depend too much on the feelings of the moment to be willing to repose my confidence on him. I have been too long accustomed

"To trace.
The day's disasters in his morning's face,"

and to anticipate their disturbance and contention. I therefore invite the House to put an end to the subject, which they can do effectually if they please. Who wants an argument in favor of preserving the Union? I see no indications of a civil war; I hear of no armies in the field, no banners of rebellion floating, no popular assemblies, no State ordinances, no committees of safety.—There is not a ripple on the surface of this wide-spread nation. Seventeen millions of people are quiet, and in a state of perfect repose. No: I beg pardon: forty-six men of Haverhill think that the Union should be immediately dissolved; but, with this deduction, the remainder of the seventeen millions rest quite content with the Constitution. [A laugh.] For whom, then, do we want an argument? For the seventeen millions, or for the forty-six men of Haverhill? They, I believe, insist "*per fas aut ne fas*," that there shall be an immediate dissolution. Well, really if it has come to that point, if the dissatisfaction of these forty-six men of Haverhill has reached so dangerous a point as, without an argument to control them, to threaten us with throwing down the Union about our ears, I think both a more rational and a cheaper mode of proceeding will be for this House to depute the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Haverhill: on his arrival let the town bell be rung; let these forty-six men assemble, and let the honorable gentleman address them, and present there the very same argument by word of mouth, which, if chairman of the committee, he would present here, and which we must print and send to the world. I feel very certain that his powers of persuasion with those personages would be just as effectual should the argument be made orally, as if made in writing; and even more so, since we all know the gentleman's power as a rhetorician.

Would it not be better that these forty-six men of Haverhill should thus be satisfied by a direct process, than by the round-about course of having their petition received, referred to a select committee, considered, reported on, and that report printed by this House, and sent to them in the form of an argument to convince them that the Union had better not at present be dissolved? [A laugh.]

Mr. Adams made a long and eloquent speech in reply to Mr. Gilmer. In the course of it he alluded, with much bitterness, to a conspiracy in the committee of foreign relations, to drive him from his post as chairman; and charged Mr. Gilmer with "tampering" with Mr. Cushing, of Massachusetts, to that effect. Mr. Cushing denied that any such propositon was made by Mr. Gilmer; he had merely told his colleague that such a move was *intended*. Mr. A. read the records of the committee on foreign affairs, to prove the truth of his charge; and maintained that Mr. Gilmer *did* tamper with Mr. C. and with other members, to remove him from his post as chairman.

The gentleman from Albemarle, (Mr. Gilmer) had other auxillaries besides those who were to turn him (Mr. A.) out of office, as chairman of the committee on Foreign Affairs. He had received, within a day or two, the following paper, which he would read to the House:

JACKSON, N. C. January 20, 1842.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, ESQ.

This will inform you that your villainous course in Congress has been watched by the whole South; and unless you very soon change your course, death will be your portion. Prepare, prepare, for by the —— of ——, you will unexpectedly be hurried into eternity, where you ought to have been long since.

Yours, ——.

This was a mere sample of a very considerable correspondence, passive on his part, which he had received, now and heretofore from this region, in which he was told that his villainous course was watched. And the gentleman from Albemarle had watched it. This letter was postmarked Norfolk, Virginia. Nor was this alone the operation of the correspondence. He had here a picturesque representation [which he exhibited to the House] of himself, with the mark of what appeared a rifle ball, "at the shortest distance," on the head, and the word "abolition" written over. On the sides were the words "*mene tekel upharsin.*" He presumed that members of this House knew where it came from. Underneath were the words, "Stop the music (precisely the words the gentleman from Albemarle had used) of John Quincy Adams, the sixth President of the United States, who,

In one revolving moon,
Is statesman, poet, babbler, and buffoon."

The gentleman from Albemarle had used the word fiddler, which was here supplied by babbler. That he was a babbler he could not deny, but that he was a fiddler was a new discovery. [A laugh.] It was the gentleman from Albemarle who announced his intention at that time to stop the music of this "statesman, poet, fiddler, and buffoon." And he seemed to have made marvellous progress in his intention to stop his music. He (Mr. A.) would not undertake to stop the gentleman's music, but would say to him—

Non tu, in triviis, indocte, solebas
Stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?

So much for this subject of music, and for the threats of launching him into eternity. He dared say that the gentleman from Albemarle would disclaim any intention of launching him into eternity. He had already disclaimed the desire of attacking a man near the grave, and of nearly fourscore years. He had expressed the pain and unwillingness with which he felt called on to stop this music of his, and for that reason he (Mr. A.) had thought proper to bring before this House and the country, the instrument on which the gentleman was accustomed to play, in his effort to stop his music. Now, because the House might laugh a little, the gentleman would perhaps consider it as a proof of his charge of buffoonery. He assured the gentleman that whatever he said now was serious. He hoped it would not be in the gentleman's power to stop his music, be it what it would, as long as he did nothing more than is duty as a representative in this House. The gentleman had spoken about the "setting sun," and the "splendid meridian." He would put it to this House, not to the gentleman from Albemarle himself, in what way a man in middle age—in the prime and vigor of body and mind, could reproach—in addition to charging another member with having one foot in the grave—could reproach him here with his infirmities.

Mr. Adams kept the floor, until the house adjourned. His speech has great historical interest. We shall give extracts from it hereafter.

FEBRUARY, 4th and 5th.

Mainly taken up with Mr. Adams; who again dwelt on the strong and extensive conspiracy against him, and said he had established that his colleague, Mr. Cushing, had been tampered with by Mr. Gilmer. Messrs Cushing and Gilmer repeated their positive denials of having had any communication together. Mr. Adams demanded of his colleague from what source then had he received his information. Mr. C. declined to repeat private conversation in the house.

Mr. Rhett said that after the proposition had been made to remove Mr. Adams from the head of the committee on foreign relations, incidentally meeting with Mr. Cushing he had said to him that, as he was second on the committee, he supposed they must appoint him chairman; and that Mr. C. promptly replied that he neither could nor would serve.

In reply to some sarcastic remarks from Mr. A. concerning the secret southern caucus, Mr. Marshall admitted that the members of that conclave would have liked to have moved Mr. Adams's *expulsion* from the House; but it was urged that he would only be sent back again by his constituents, and thus triumph over them.

He complained that, though Mr. Adams had professed so great a desire to save the time of the country, he had already occupied as much time in his defense as was consumed in the creation of the world; and he now asked a postponement of the subject, to get information from the President and the departments, to prove that a conspiracy existed in the South to extend slavery to the North. Mr. A. had said the South wished to throw slavery on the North; to involve them in a war with Great Britain for the purpose of reviving the slave trade, and to destroy the right of trial by jury, and habeas corpus. He had already justified in the presence of an English nobleman, [Lord Morpeth, who has attended the sessions of the House for some days,] the right of search claimed by the British government; and now wished by long documents to prove it. It had no connection with the case. He hoped the House would not postpone the subject.

Mr. Arnold moved to commit the whole subject to a select committee; but withdrew the motion, at Mr. Adams's request. Mr. A. then continued his defense; in the course of which he alluded to Mr. Upshur's recent letter to Mr. Wise—in which it was said that rather than see the success of this abolition movement, he would prefer a dissolution of the Union—and said that it was indefinite, an evasion of the question "Are you or not in favor of the dissolution of the Uuion?" He would take this platform, and that of Mr. Rhett's former resolutions to dissolve the Union, and claim for his constituents the benefit of these views, in proof of their right to petition for redress of grievances. It was an insolent presumption in the House to arrogate to themselves this superintendence over the constituent body in the exercise of the privilege of petition granted by the Constitution.

Mr. Adams complained that the National Intelligencer did not report him fairly. "It utterly misrepresented his argument, and omitted the foundation of all his defense." He considered this a reason why Congress ought to meet in a city where slavery did not exist. The press in Washington was under slavery influence. He wanted a fair reporter, and he needed time for preparation. The New-York Herald says: "This want was voluntarily supplied by the Rev. Joshua Leavitt, editor of the New-York Emancipator, who took possession of Mr. Chittenden's seat on the floor, although he had a seat elsewhere assigned to him by the speaker. But Mr. Andrews of Kentucky disliked the proximity of the abolitionists, and he was compelled to retreat to his seat without the bar.

The fact is, that while Mr. Adams was warmly complaining of the abuse of the Globe, and the one sidedness of the Intelligencer, Mr. Andrews, of Kentucky, rose to a point of order, and made an inquiry of the Chair, whether Reporters were entitled to seats within the bar of the House?

The Speaker remarked that there were not seats enough to accommodate all the reporters; and of consequence, there were some who were obliged to be on the floor without the bar.

Mr. Andrews said there were two abolition reporters frequently in the seats of members, whom he was sorry to see admitted to that floor at all. He had requested the doorkeeper to keep them in their proper places, which he refused to do. He should therefore move to elect another doorkeeper, who would enforce the rules of the House.

The editors and reporters of the Intelligencer, being very angry, refuse to publish any more of Mr. Adams's remarks, unless reported by himself. This will be a great disappointment to the public, and is much to be regretted. Southerners have complained of the Intelligencer for reporting too much "incendiary" matter in their Congressional.

Died.

In Cambridgeport, on Saturday afternoon, January 29, at the residence of the editor of the Liberator, after a very distressing and protracted illness, Mary Benson, daughter of the late venerable George Benson, formerly of Providence, Rhode Island, in the 45th year of her age. She was eminently fitted in spirit to be either a blessed sojourner on earth, or a blissfull resident in heaven. In all the righteous reforms of the age, she took a deep interest; and the last efforts of her industry were in behalf of the suffering slave.—*Liberator.*

THE ONE DOLLAR PLAN.

The following was passed unanimously at the late anniversary:

Resolved, That every friend of the American Anti-Slavery Society be earnestly recommended to pay into the Treasury of the Society, during the present year, a sum not less than ONE DOLLAR; that every auxiliary Society be advised to urge this recommendation upon the friends of the cause in its vicinity; and that the Executive Committee be requested to publish weekly in the Standard an account of the moneys that may be received into the treasury under this proposition.

In compliance with this resolution, we shall set apart a corner of the paper for the acknowledgment of these ONE DOLLAR RECEIPTS, distinct from the Treasurer's usual account. We trust our friends were in earnest, when they voted for this resolution, and that they will not forget the obligation it imposes upon them. Those who give larger sums will still do well to add this smal donation to the list. It is very important that the Society should have some *certain* data to go upon, as a basis for pecuniary arrangements.

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PAYMENT RECEIVED.

Amount previously acknowledged,		$1001 00
1002	Nathan Herendeen, Ontario co. N. Y.	1 00
1003	Jane Herendeen, " "	1 00
1004	Huldah Getchell, " "	1 00
1005	Durfee Herendeen, Wayne co. "	1 00
1006	Mary Herendeen, " "	1 00
1007	Eli Dillin, Philadelphia, Pa.	1 00
1008	Caleb Clothier, " "	1 00
1009	A friend, " "	1 00
1010	E. K., Wilmington, Del.	1 00

☞ The last four names were received some weeks since, and neglected to be credited.

TREASURER'S RECEIPTS

For the week ending 2nd month (Feb.) 7th.

For the Standard.—Joseph Scofield, New Canaan, Ct. $3; Mary Ridgway, Sherwood's Corner, $1; Weymouth and Braintree Emancipation Society, $2; Stephen Rushmore, jr. North Hempstead, L. I. $3; Henry Willis, Jericho, L. I. $2; William Green, jr. Woodbridge, N. J. $2; Rev. John Prince, Essex, Mass. $2; Eunice Dorman, Kennebunk, Me. $2,75; Jonathan P. Magill, New Hope, Bucks co. Penn. $4; Reuby Shephard, Dean's Corner, N. Y. $1; P. A. Comstock and Daniel L. Merritt, Hart's Village, Duchess co. N. Y. each $2; Charles Smith, New Hope, Bucks co. Penn. $2; Stephen Ludlow, Springport, Jackson co. Mich. $1; William Thomas, Barneville, Ohio, $3; James Austin, Marlboro, Stark co. Ohio, $2; Townsend & Speakman, Knox, Knox co. Ohio, $2; Cone & Richards, Frederick, Knox co. Ohio, $2; David H. Drake, Mt. Vernon, Knox co. Ohio, $2; William Carnahan, Loudonville, Richland co. Ohio, $1; Absalom Swords, Millbrook, Wayne co. Ohio, $10; Miles D. Pettibone, Delaware, Delaware co. Ohio, $2; Nathan Winslow, Portland, Me. $4; Dennis Thorn, Rensselaerville, N. Y. $2; Moses Kimball, West Boxford, Mass. $2; Zacharia Beeson, Dalton, Wayne co. Ind. Parvin Wright, Colerain, Ohio, each $2; William Jay, $2; William M. Griffith, East Bethlehem, Washington co. Penn. $2; Horatio Slocomb, Wilkinsonville, Mass. $1; —— Corey, Lebanon, Ct. $2; —— Potter, Woodstock, Ct. $1,66; —— Chafee, Woodstock, Ct. $1,66; Carpenter & Hicks, Ashford, Ct. $2; John Augustus, Boston, $2; Nathan W. Whitmore, Dixon's Ferry, Ill. $2; Edward Robins, Hempsted Harbor, L. I. $2.—$77,07.

The ten dollars acknowledged in the Treasurer's receipts of 6 mo. 24th last, was received from D. Gregg, of West Roxbury, Mass.

Donations.—Emory Fay, Southboro, Mass. $5; Timothy Burr, Lodi, Ohio, $1; Milo D. Pettibone, Delaware, Ohio, $2,50; Ann P. Pettibone, Delaware, Ohio, $2,50; George Barrett and Mrs. Barrett, Delaware, Ohio, each $4; Samuel Rheem, Delaware, Ohio, 50 cents; A. H. Morehaun, Allen Benton, A. M. Starr, all of Medina co. Ohio, $1,50 each; Donation of friends of the same place, $1,50; —— Corey, Lebanon, Ct. $1; A friend, of the same place, 68 cents; Friends in Norwich, Preston, Bozrah, N. Stonington, &c. $16; A friend of the Slave, in Berlin, Mass. $10; Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, $200.—$253,18.

ISAAC T. HOPPER, Treasurer.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign Items.

GREAT BRITAIN.

European Treaty.—A treaty was signed in London, Dec. 20, by the representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, having for its object still further to check the carrying on of the slave trade. The main provision of it is the concession of a mutual right of search, in respect to the ships of all the contracting parties.

It is stated that in consequence of Queen Victoria having expressed some uneasiness that her son, the Prince of Wales, should have, during her life time, precedence of his father, it has been resolved that Prince Albert be immediately created King Consort, by the title and rank of his Majesty King Albert.

The Queen has sketched a likeness of the infant Prince, which will immediately be lithographed. The resemblance is said to be perfect. On the birth of this important little personage, his royal mother gave orders that those convicts, who had behaved well, should have their punishment commuted; and that those deserving of such clemency, lingering on board the hulks at Deptford, Woolwich, Sheerness, Portsmouth, Pembroke, Cork, and other prisons, should be set at liberty.

Hampton Court Palace, with its collection of paintings, is thrown open to the public five days in the week, by her Majesty's command, without charge, or any restriction of numbers. The attendants, who formerly received fees for admittance express as much satisfaction at the change of system as the public do, who formerly paid them, not unfrequently with reluctance and complaint. On Sunday afternoons, as many as 3000 persons, mostly of the working classes, are often admitted, to roam about the building and the gardens at will. It is a gratifying proof of real refinement in these people, that works of art do not receive the slightest injury, and that the unfenced flower-beds are neither robbed nor trampled on.

The attentions shown to Lord Morpeth in this country, are spoken of by the English press, especially the more liberal portion, with much pleasure.

O'Connel presided at the meeting which nominated him to represent Dublin.

London alone, it is computed, pays £20,000 more for its bread daily, than it would have to pay if the corn laws did not exist.

Gen. Duff Green is now in London writing letters for the "Morning Chronicle," on American State Bonds.

Lord Ashburton has not arrived, as reported, but is expected in the next packet. Efforts are being made to excite jealousy about his mission, on the ground that he has pecuniary interests at stake; that Mr. Bates, his partner, was here last year, to establish a National Bank by the agency of British gold, &c. If there is ground for these charges, they are not obvious; for Lord Ashburton ceased to be partner of the house of Baring & Co. several years since. The New-York Herald says: "The people of the United States will never submit to foreign dictation. Should we yield 'the right of search,' the next claim 'on behalf of suffering humanity,' will be that slavery shall be abolished in the United States, under threats of the vengeance of the allied powers."

Family of Sir Walter Scott.—Advices have been received in England of the death of Charles Scott, son of the late Sir Walter Scott. He died at Teheran, and at the time of his death was one of the persons attached to the embassy of Sir John McNeil. The editor of the Leeds Mercury makes the following comments on this melancholy event:

"How vain are often our most cherished hopes and ambition! Sir Walter Scott expected—toiled—and died—to found an estate. His family was then numerous, and the Scotts of Abbotsford were, in his imagination, to rival any of the border chiefs of the olden time. A long line of descendants would regard him, the poet-founder of the family, with pride and veneration! It seems certain now, that the direct succession will not continue beyond the present generation. His eldest son has no family; the second has died in a foreign country without issue; both his daughters are dead. Misfortune and death have lowered the crest of Abbotsford, and the halls which Sir Walter took such pride in rearing, will scarcely ever again be trod by one of his children. The only survivor is now in India. Mr. Charles Scott was of a reserved and diffident temper and disposition, but possessed of considerable intelligence, and a fund of quiet humor, which he delighted to exercise among his private friends. He was carefully educated at Oxford, but from his unobtrusive manner and retired habits was little known, and made no exertion beyond his official duties and a few friends and relations."

The trial of Beaumont Smith, for the recent frauds on the exchequer, has produced great excitement in England. The populace are impressed with the belief that there has been management to screen one or more individuals, too high in rank to be sent to the felon's dungeon.

It is understood that it is not the policy of Great Britain to permit any considerable French force to be concentrated along the Pyrenean frontier; that she will oppose no arrangement for the marriage of the young Spanish queen provided the proposed husband be not a French princes that she will take no part in any European Congres convoked for the adjustment of the Spanish question, and that if such an assembly should be held without her cooperation she would oppose the enforcement of all coercive measures, and all other resolutions of such Congress which should tend, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the rights and dignity of Spain as a free and independent nation.

At Aberystwith, a plough has lately turned up, in a stubble-field, some thousands of Roman coins, inclosed in an antique vessel. They are of the reign of Julius Cæsar, and his immediate successors.

FRANCE.

Great indignation is excited in Paris by the condemnation of *M. Dapoty*, editor of the *Journal du People*, to four years imprisonment, for an article *tending* to excite offense against the throne—although it was proved that no sort of connection existed between him and the parties implicated in the attempted assassination. The Paris papers, with the exception of the official papers, Journal des Debats, the Moniteur, Revue de Paris, and the Constitutionnel—have remonstrated with the Chamber of Deputies against this outrageous sentence.

In consequence of a bank of earth having given way at Tonrville, where the engineers of the Paris and Rouen Railroad were constructing a tunnel, five laborers were cut off from all communication with the exterior. In order to extricate them, it was found necessary to dig through a bank of hard gravel to the depth of thirty feet. In less than 14 hours this operation was completed; and, thanks to the coolness and intrepidity displayed by Mr. Jones, the English engineer, the five men were saved.

THE EAST.

Steam! Steam!—A letter from London, sent to Calcutta, via Marseilles, by the overland mail of the 5th of July, reached its destination on the 17th of August. The bill it enclosed was cashed, and a return remittance arrived in London on the 7th of October; making a total of 95 days, for a correspondence out and home, between London and Calcutta!!!

The cultivation of cotton in the East Indies, on the American system, it is said is proceeding most satisfactorily. One of the superintendents says, "It only requires the means, constant application, decision, industry, and perseverance, to make this beautiful and productive country the largest producer of cotton in the world."

CHINA.

By the latest accounts, peace was restored, and the people were returning to Canton; but owing to the constant fear of new outbreaks, business was in a very unsatisfactory state.

Mr. Coolidge, of Boston, still remained at Canton. He had been accused, by rumor, of furnishing arms, &c. to the Chinese, but it was positively denied by him in the Hong Kong Gazette.

It is now stated that the Chinese did not give up Amoy without an animated, though short, contest. They stood to their guns until British soldiers entered the fort at one angle, and the marines at the other. When it was seen that foreigners had possession of the batteries, one mandarin walked down to the beach and drowned himself; another cut his throat.

The Chinese men, women, and children, ran helter skelter over the hills, leaving every thing behind.

Several Chinese have become converts to Christianity; one a distinguished poet, another one of the first literary men in the Empire.

NEW HOLLAND.

A Sydney paper declares that a whole tribe of blacks had been murdered by the colonists, at a station about 150 miles from Melbourne; that, much nearer, eight blacks had been killed and thrown into a creek; and that one person, not named, had stuck the heads of forty-two natives on as many poles round his house.

The shepherds of Mr. Grice, and that gentleman himself, who it had been said were murdered by the blacks, were at Melbourne on the 11th of June, and perfectly recovered.

MEXICO AND TEXAS.

The prisoners taken at Santa Fe on the first of November, arrived in the city of Mexico about the 18th of December; 1800 miles in 48 days. This seems to set aside the idea that they travelled on foot.

A French frigate from Tampico and Vera Cruz brings tidings of their safe arrival; that they were well treated, and that the statements of the cruelties practised on them by the way were untrue. Charges would be preferred against them at Mexico, and they would then undergo a trial.

Two Mexican steamers of war, mounting Paixham guns, and built in England at an expense of $740,000 were daily expected at Vera Cruz, full manned and equipped, and were forthwith, on their arrival, destined to blockade the port of Galveston. An army of 50,000 men was also being raised, of which 20,000 were to cooperate with the navy in the conquest of Texas!

There are some French sloops of war and one schooner cruising off the coast. It is, however, expected that the difficulties with France will be amicably arranged.

Great excitement with regard to the capture of the Santa Fe expedition, exists throughout Texas.

News has been received in Kentucky from the U. S. Consul at Chihuahua, that the son of Gen. Combs is in good health, and that the Mexican Secretary of War has promised to extend toward him every indulgence in his power.

A committee of the Texas House of Representatives has reported in favor of impeaching ex-President Lamar, for fitting out the Santa Fe expedition. Great is the difference which *success* makes in the estimate of men and actions!

Gen. Hamilton has gone to Texas. He declares that the dispositions of the new British ministry were equally favorable with those of Lord Melbourne's cabinet towards the republic of Texas, which he represented at the Court of St. James; and that the evening before he left London, he signed with Lord Aberdeen, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, a protocol strongly indicative of these friendly feelings.

☞ A correspondent of the N. Y. Sun, writing from Galveston, says: "A bill has been introduced in the Texan Senate, to authorize the President to negotiate for *the annexation of Texas to the United States, and will doubtless pass.*"

The reunion of Yucatan with Mexico is now supposed to be fixed on a solid basis. The terms of the compact are approved, both in Yucatan and in Mexico, and give the former the advantages of both independence and the federal constitution. The people generally expressed great joy on the occasion.

WEST INDIES.

In consequence of an arbitrary attempt to suppress the customary popular amusements, during the Christmas holidays, there has been a considerable riot in Jamaica. The crowd threw stones and broken bottles at the police officers. The military fired on them, killed several, wounded many, and enraged all.

The Governor of Cuba has ordered the immediate erection of Sunday shools in Havana, where the children of all classes may be educated free of expense. The law is a liberal one, and accomplishes the object completely. The Lancasterian system of teaching is to be adopted.

General Items.

Found Guilty.—George W. Danly and Thomas Bryan, who were some time since sent from Philadelphia, on the requisition of the Governor of Louisiana, charged with assisting, aiding and abetting the escape of a slave, have been tried in New Orleans and convicted. Their sentence will be from two to twenty years in the penitentiary.—*Phil. Ledger.*

A Conviction.—The captain and cook of a vessel have been convicted in Baltimore, of aiding and abetting a slave in running away from his master. The penalty is hard labor and imprisonment, for not less than two, nor more than twenty years.

Yet Another.—In Richmond, Va. a free colored man has been sentenced to fifteen years of hard labor in the penitentiary, for having *advised* two slave girls to run away.

Killed in trying to Kill.—A runaway slave belonging to Mr. Barksdale of Halifax county Va. was shot down, by Mr. Richard Vernon, of the aforesaid county. Mr. Vernon came in contact with the negro in the woods—whereupon the slave seized a large rock and made at Vernon, who drew a pistol and shot him dead, while approaching.

Distressing Casualty.—A young lady named Susannah Mulvey, on the 29th ult., started in a sleigh, in company with a young man, to visit some friends near Saco, Me. They travelled on the river, which was frozen over; when about four miles from the village they drove directly into a hole in the river, which was not frozen over. The young man leaped from the sleigh and was saved. The sleigh instantly sunk, and the young lady went down. She shrieked as she disappeared beneath the ice, and the fearful death-struggle must have instantaneously occurred. The horse was taken out but soon died.

Riot in Baltimore.—A riot occured among the firemen of Baltimore on Friday. It began by a fight between two Companies, which soon became general.—The contest was waged with brick-bats, axes, bludgeons, &c. No one was fatally injured. The police were on the ground, but utterly unable to restore order. Several persons were put under arrest.—*Tribune.*

Railroad Disaster.—A dreadful accident occured last week on the Western railroad, between Springfield and Pittsfield, Mass. The engine ran off the track into a bank of snow which broke the force of the train and stopped it. The engineer, Mr. Rice, of Pittsfield, was instantly killed. The fireman, an Irishman, was mangled in a most horrible manner. The passengers, forty or fifty in number, escaped without injury.

Warning.—A little child three years old, son of Mr. John Hall

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

TO THE DEPARTING YEAR.

Departing year! wild winds aloud
Proclaim thy hastening exit here—
Thy pall of clouds, and snow-wove shroud,
Await thee o'er thy icy bier.

And thou hast thrown thy shadow o'er
The tropic sea, the frozen pole,
As thy untiring pinions bore,
All nature towards her final goal.

Where are the flowers, the gladsome flowers,
That spring beneath thy vernal beam?
That smiled in summer's groves and bowers,
Adorned the mountain and the stream?

Though sere the flower,—the seed mature,
Wide-wafted on thy Autumn gales,
Earth's fostering bosom shall secure,
Again to deck her hills and vales.

Not so with humble hearts, thy hand
Has laid in earth—by men forgot;
But they shall bloom in that far land
Where time's mutation cometh not.

But thou wilt leave, returnless year,
In human hearts, of light and shade,
Mementoes of thy presence here,
In hues too deeply set to fade.

Earth's best—the just, the true, the brave,
Who graced our world, when thou wert young,
Sleep 'neath the turf, 'neath ocean's wave,
And thy bleak winds, their requiem sung.

Yes, thou hast rung in many a heart
Of buried joys, the funeral knell,
Hast bid the anguish'd tear-drop start,
Whose bitterness but one can tell.

And thou hast wrought the healing balm,
To soothe the sufferer's weary hours;
In troubled breasts hath wrought a calm,
And strew'd life's pathway, o'er with flowers.

Though long the scroll thy bosom wears,
The register of human crime;
Though dark the record that it bears,
To wait the assize of closing time—

Yet still methinks a voice I hear,
To dry the tear on virtue's cheeks—
The Christian's, patriot's heart to cheer
And this the language that it speaks:

"Shall earth to Satan ever bow,
Sin's banners ever be unfurled?
Not so—the standard's raised e'en now,
To disenthral a captive world!

By nobler, holier thoughts impelled,
See, dash'd to earth the circean bowl,
Where bacchanals their orgies held
To brutalize the human soul.

Behold! the despot's tottering throne,
The narrowing bound of slavery's sway;
And read in this, the coming shown
Of truth's and freedom's happier day.

The sun that rose on Bethlehem's plain,
Though mists may now obscure its rays,
Shall yet its high meridian gain,
And shine with bright, unclouded blaze."

E*****.

25th of 12th month, 1841.

Mr. Pierpont being asked for his autograph, at the Massachusetts Fair, hastily wrote with a pencil the following happy effusion—

THEY CANNOT TAKE CARE OF "THEMSELVES."

Our Tobacco they plant, and our Cotton they pick;
And our Rice they can harvest and thresh,
They feed us in health, and they nurse us when sick;
And they earn—while we pocket—our cash.

They lead us when young, and they help us when old;
And their toil loads our tables and shelves;
But they're "niggers;" and *therefore*, (the truth must be told.)
They cannot take care of *themselves*.

OUR COUNTRY.

BY WILLIAM H. BURLEIGH.

Land of my fathers! nations, from afar,
Have watched the rising of thy natal star—
And while they marvel at its bright'ning glow,
As streams of splendor from its full orb flow,
They tell its sudden doom with prophet-lips—
That o'er its disc shall come a dark eclipse,
Blotting the glory of its radiant prime,
Till men no more shall track its course sublime,
Nor speak admiring of the wondrous light
That on the nations burst, a Presence bright,
Scattering the gloom of ages—that its beams,
In darkness quenched, or changed to baleful gleams,
No more shall cheer the enthusiast devotee,
Who prays and toils for Human Liberty—
And when that star shall set in seas of blood,
Oppression once again shall roll o'er Earth her flood;
Such is their sure prediction—shall it be
Fulfilled, my country! by thy sons in thee?

Earth's despots, trembling on their thrones, await,
And wish and hope that such may be thy fate;
With hellish glee they watch for every cloud
That o'er thy sky rolls darkly as a shroud—
And shout exultant, as around thy shores
The maddened sea of lawless violence roars!

Nor with less anxious gaze, the good and wise,
Men of pure heart, and generous sympathies,
Intently mark thy progress while for thee
Fate weaves a sad or glorious destiny;
They watch, alternating from hope to fear,
And pray that thine may be a bright career,
Undimmed by folly and unstained by guilt—
For Liberty on thee her hopes hath built;
If thou dost fail or falter, wo for men!
On Freedom's alter-shrine no fires may burn again!
But if thy course be onward, freed from all
The base hypocrisies that now enthrall—
If to thy glorious Charter thou art true,
And, strong in faith, the path of RIGHT pursue,
Till rapt in admiration, Earth shall see
Thy practice with thy principles agree—
Joy for the nations!—from the dust uplifted,
With new-born strength and courage strangely gifted,
They from his throne shall hurl the tyrant down,
Crumbling alike the sceptre and the crown;
Till Fraud, and Error, and their legioned lies,
Shall shrink, despairing from the lightning eyes
Of Truth, the child of God—and every land
Shall own her sway and heed her just demand;
All kindreds, nations, tongues, alike made free,
Earth shall become one vast Democracy,
And like a golden girdle, Love shall span
The universal brotherhood of man!

THE BRIDE.

It is an anxious happiness, it is a fearful thing
When first the maiden's small white hand puts on the golden ring.
She passeth from her father's house into another's care;
And who may say what troubled hours, what sorrows meet her there.
Ah! love and life are mysteries, both blessing and both blest.
And yet how much they teach the heart, of sorrow and unrest;
Sweet maiden, while these troubled thoughts and bridal fancies sweep,
Well may'st thou, pensive, watch thy glass, and turn aside to weep!

Miscellany.

From the Dial for January.

THE WEST-ROXBURY COMMUNITY.

(NEAR BOSTON.)

In the last number of the Dial were some remarks, under the perhaps ambitious title, of "A Glimpse of Christ's Idea of Society;" in a note to which, it was intimated, that in this number, would be given an account of an attempt to realize in some degree this great ideal, by a little company in the midst of us, as yet without name or visible existence. The attempt is made on a very small scale. A few individuals, who, unknown to each other, under different disciplines of life, reacting from different social evils, but aiming at the same object,—of being wholly true to their natures as men and women; have been made acquainted with one another, and have determined to become the Faculty of the embryo University.

In order to live a religious and moral life worthy the name, they feel it is necessary to come out in some degree from the world, and to form themselves into a community of property, so far as to exclude competition and the ordinary rules of trade;—while they reserve sufficient private property, or the means of obtaining it, for all purposes of independence, and isolation at will. They have bought a farm, in order to make agriculture the basis of their life; it being the most direct and simple in relation to nature.

A true life, although it aims beyond the highest star, is redolent of the healthy earth. The perfume of clover lingers about it. The lowing of cattle is the natural bass to the melody of human voices.

On the other hand, what absurdity can be imagined greater than the institution of cities? They originated not in love, but war. It was war that drove men together in multitudes, and compelled them to stand so close, and build walls around them. This crowded condition produced wants of an unnatural character, which resulted in occupations that regenerated the evil, by creating artificial wants.—Even when that thought of grief,

"I know, where'er I go
That there hath passed away a glory from the Earth,"

came to our first parents, as they saw the angel, with the flaming sword of self-consciousness, standing between them and the recovery of spontaneous life and joy, we cannot believe they could have anticipated a time would come, when the sensuous apprehension of creation—the great symbol of God—would be taken away from their unfortunate children,—crowded together in such a manner as to shut out the free breath and the universal dome of heaven, some opening their eyes in the dark cellars of the narrow, crowded streets of walled cities.—How could they have believed in such a conspiracy against the soul, as to deprive it of the sun and sky, and gloriously appareled earth!—The growth of cities, which were the embryo of nations hostile to each other, is a subject worthy the thoughts and pen of the philosophic historian. Perhaps nothing would stimulate courage to seek, and hope to attain social good, so much as a profound history of the origin, in the mixed natures of man, and the exasperation by society, of the various organized evils under which humanity groans. Is there any thing, which exists in social or political life, contrary to the soul's ideal? That thing is not eternal, but finite, saith the pure reason. It had a beginning, and so a history. What a man has done, man may *undo*. "By man came death; by man also cometh the resurrection from the dead."

The plan of the community, as an economy, is in brief this; for all who have property to take stock, and receive a fixed interest thereon; and then to keep house or board in commons, as they shall severally desire, at the cost of provisions purchased at wholesale, or raised on the farm; and for all to labor in community, and be paid at a certain rate an hour, choosing their own number of hours, and their own kind of work. With the results of this labor, and their interest, they are to pay their board, and also purchase whatever else they require at cost, at the warehouses of the community, which are to be filled by the community as such. To perfect this economy, in the course of time they must have all trades, and all modes of business carried on among themselves, from the lowest mechanical trade, which contributes to the health and comfort of life, to the finest art which adorns it with food or drapery for the mind.

All labor, whether bodily or intellectual, is to be paid at the same rate of wages; on the principle, that as the labor becomes merely bodily, it is a greater sacrifice to the individual laborer, to give his time to it; because time is desirable for the cultivation of the intellect, in exact proportion to ignorance. Besides, intellectual labor involves in itself higher pleasures, and is more its own reward, than bodily labor.

Another reason for setting the same pecuniary value on every kind of labor, is, to give outward expression to the great truth, that all labor is sacred, when done for a common interest. Saints and philosophers already know this, but the childish world does not; and every decided measure must be taken to equalize labors, in the eyes of the young of the community, who are not beyond the moral influences of the world without them. The community will have nothing done within its precints, but what is done by its own members, who stand all in social equality;—that the children may not "learn to expect one kind of service from love and good will, and another from the obligation of others to render it,"—a grievance of the common society, stated, by one of the associated mothers, as destructive of the soul's simplicity. Consequently, as the universal education will involve all kinds of operations, necessary to the comforts and elegances of life, every associate, even if he be the digger of a ditch as his highest accomplishment, will be an instructor in that to the young member. Nor will this elevation of bodily labor be liable to lower the tone of manners and refinement in the community. The "children of light" are not altogether unwise in their generation. They have an invisible but all-powerful guard of principles. Minds incapable of refinement, will not be attracted into this association. It is an ideal community, and only to the ideally inclined will it be attractive; but these are to be found in every rank of life, under every shadow of circumstances. Even among the diggers in the ditch are to be found some who, through religious cultivation, can look down, in meek superiority, upon the outwardly refined, and the book-learned.

Besides, after becoming members of this community, none will be engaged merely in bodily labor. The hours of labor for the association will be limited by a general law, and can be curtailed at the will of the individual still more; and means will be given to all for intellectual improvement and for social intercourse, calculated to refine and expand. The hours redeemed from labor by community, will not be re-applied to the acquisition of wealth, but to the production of intellectual goods. This community aims to be rich, not in the metallic representative of wealth, but in the wealth itself, which money would represent; namely, LEISURE TO LIVE IN ALL THE FACULTIES OF THE SOUL. As a community, it will traffic with the world at large, in the products of agricultural labor; and it will sell education to as many young persons as can be domesticated in the families, and enter into the common life with their own children. In the end, it hopes to be enabled to provide—not only all the necessaries, but all the elegances desirable for bodily and for spiritual health; books, apparatus, collections for science, works of art, means of beautiful amusement. These things are to be common to all; and thus that object, which alone gilds and refines the passion for individual accumulation, will no longer exist for desire; and whenever the sordid passion appears, it will be seen in its naked selfishness. In its ultimate success, the community will realize all the ends which selfishness seeks, but involved in spiritual blessings, which only greatness of soul can aspire after.

And the requisition on the individuals, it is believed, will make this the order for ever. The spiritual good will always be the condition of the temporal. Every one must labor for the community in a reasonable degree, or not taste its benefits. The principles of the organization therefore, and not its probable results in future time, will determine its members. These principles are co-operation in social matters, instead of competition or balance of interests; and individual self-unfolding, in the faith that the whole soul of humanity is in each man and woman. The former is the application of the love of man; the latter of the love of God, to life. Whoever is satisfied with society, as it is; whose sense of justice is not wounded by its common action, institutions, spirit of commerce, has no business with this community; neither has any one who is willing to have other men (needing more time for intellectual cultivation than himself) give their best hours and strength to bodily labor, to secure himself immunity therefrom. And whoever does not measure what society owes to its members of cherishing and instruction, by the needs of the individuals that compose it, has no lot in this new society. Whoever is willing to receive from his fellow-men that, for which he gave no equivalent, will stay away from its precints forever.

But whoever shall surrender himself to its principles, shall find that its yoke is easy and its burden light. Every thing can be said of it, in a degree, which Christ said of his kingdom; and therefore it is believed that in some measure it does embody his idea. For its gate of entrance is straight and narrow. It is literally a pearl *hidden in a field*. Those only who are willing to lose their life for its sake, shall find it. Its voice is that which sent the young man sorrowing away. "Go sell all thy goods and give to the poor, and then come and follow me."—"Seek first the kingdom of Heaven, and its righteousness, and all other things shall be added unto you."

This principle, with regard to labor, lies at the root of moral and religious life; for it is not more true that "money is the root of all evil," than that *labor is the germ of all good*.

All the work is to be offered for the free choice of the members of the community, at stated seasons, and such as is not chosen, will be hired. But it is not anticipated that any work will be set aside to be hired, for which there is actual ability in the community. It is so desirable that the hired labor should be avoided, that it is believed the work will all be done freely, even though at voluntary sacrifice. If there is some exception at first, it is because the material means are inadequate to the reception of all who desire to go. They cannot go, unless they have shelter; and in this climate, they cannot have shelter unless they can build houses; and they cannot build houses unless they have money. It is not here as in Robinson Crusoe's island, or in the prairies and rocky mountains of the far west, where the land and the wood are not appropriated. A single farm, in the midst of Massachusetts, does not afford range enough for men to create out of the earth a living, with no other means; as the wild Indians, or the United States army in Florida, may do.

This plan, of letting all persons choose their own departments of action, will immediately place their genius of instruction on its throne. Communication is the life of spiritual life. Knowledge pours itself out upon ignorance by a native impulse. All the arts crave response. "WISDOM CRIES." If every man and woman taught only what they loved, and so many hours, as they could naturally communicate, instruction would cease to be a drudgery, and we may add, learning would be no longer a task. The known accomplishments of many of the members of this association have already secured it an interest in the public mind, as a school of literary advantages quite superior. Most of the associates have had long practical experience in the details of teaching, and have groaned under the necessity of taking their method and law from custom or caprice, when they would rather have found it in the nature of the thing taught, and the condition of the pupil to be instructed. Each instructor appoints his hours of study or recitation, and the scholars or the parents of the children, or the educational committee, choose the studies, for the time, and the pupils submit, as long as they pursue their studies with any teacher, to his regulations.

As agriculture is the basis of their external life, scientific agriculture, connected with practice, will be a prominent part of the instruction from the first. This obviously involves the natural sciences—mathematics and accounts. But to classical learning, justice is also to be done. Boys may be fitted for our colleges there, and even be carried through the college course. The particular studies of the individual pupils, whether old or young, male or female, are to be strictly regulated, according to their inward needs. As the children of the community can remain in the community after they become of age, as associates, if they will; there will not be an entire subserviency to the end of preparing the means of earning a material subsistence, as is frequently the case now.—Nevertheless, as they will have had opportunity, in the course of their minority, to earn three or four hundred dollars, they can leave the community at twenty years of age, if they will, with that sufficient capital, which, together with their extensive education, will gain *a subsistence* any where, in the best society of the world. It is this feature of the plan, which may preclude from parents any questions as to their right to go into this community, and forego for ever all hope of great individual accumulation *for their children*; a customary plea for spending life in making money. Their children will be supported at free board, until they are ten years of age; educated gratuitously; taken care of in case of their parents' sickness and death; and they themselves will be supported, after seventy years of age, by the community, unless their accumulated capital supports them.

There are some persons who have entered the community without money. It is believed that these will be able to support themselves and dependents, by less work, more completely, and with more ease than elsewhere; while their labor will be of advantage to the community. It is in no sense an eleemosynary establishment; but it is hoped that in the end it will be able to receive all who have the spiritual qualifications.

It seems impossible that the little organization can be looked on with any unkindness by the world without it. Those, who have not the faith that the principles of Christ's kingdom are applicable to the real life in the world, will smile at it, as a visionary attempt. But even they must acknowledge it can do no harm, in any event. If it realizes the hope of its founders, it will immediately become a manifold blessing. Its moral *aura* must be salutary. As long as it lasts, it will be an example of the beauty of brotherly love. If it succeeds in uniting successful labor with improvement in mind and manners, it will teach a noble lesson to the agricultural population, and do something to check that rush from the country to the city, which is now stimulated by ambition, and by something better, even a desire for learning. Many a young man leaves the farmer's life, because only by so doing can he have intellectual companionship and opportunity; and yet, did he but know it, professional life is ordinarily more unfavorable to the perfection of the mind, than the farmer's life, if the latter is lived with wisdom and moderation, and the labor mingled as it might be with study. This community will be a school of young agriculturalists, who may learn within its precincts, not only the skillful practice, but the scientific reasons of their work, and be enabled afterwards to improve their art continuously. It will also prove the best of normal schools, and as such, may claim the interest of those, who mourn over the inefficiency of our common school system, with its present ill-instructed teachers.

It should be understood, also, that after all the working and teaching, which individuals of the community may do, they will still have leisure, and in that leisure can employ themselves in connection with the world around them. Some will not teach at all; and those especially can write books, pursue the fine arts, for private emolument if they will, and exercise various functions of men. From this community might go forth preachers of the gospel of Christ, who would not have upon them the odium, or the burden, that now diminishes the power of the clergy. And even if *pastors* were to go from this community, to reside among congregations as now, for a salary given, the fact, that they would have something to retreat upon, at any moment, would save them from that virtual dependence on their congregations, which now corrupts the relation. There are doubtless beautiful instances of the old true relation of pastor and people, even of teachers and taught, in the decaying churches around us, but it is in vain to attempt to conceal the ghastly fact, that many a taper is burning dimly in the candlestick, no longer silver or golden, because compassion forbids to put it quite out. But let the spirit again blow "where it listeth," and not circumscribe itself by salary and other commodity,—and the preached word might resume the awful dignity which is its appropriate garment; and though it sit down with publicans and sinners, again speak "with authority and not as the scribes?"

We write, as is evident perhaps, not as members, which we are not, but interested spectators of the growth of this little community. It is due to their modesty to apologize for bringing out so openly, what they have done simply and without pretension. We rest on the spirit of the day, which is that of communication. No sooner does the life of the man become visible, but it is a part of the great phenomenon of nature, which never seeks display, but suffers all to speculate thereon. When this speculation is made in respect, and in love of truth, it is most to be defended.

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We had intended to subjoin some further remarks, by way of inquiry, into the possibility of other portions of society, not able to emancipate themselves from the thraldom of city life, beginning also to act, in a degree, on the principles of co-operation.—Ameliorations of present evils, initiation into truer life, may be made we believe every where. Worldly wisdom, for its own purposes, avails itself of what is outward in the community plan; at least of the labor-saving element. Why may not the children of light be equally wise.

There may be some persons, at a distance, who will ask, to what degree has this community gone into operation? We cannot answer this with precision; for we do not write as organs of this association, and have reason to feel, that if we applied to them for information, they would refuse it, out of their dislike to appear in public. We desire this to be distinctly understood. But we can see, and think we have a right to say, that it has purchased the farm, which some of its members cultivated for a year with success, by way of trying their love and skill for agricultural labor; that in the only house they are as yet rich enough to own, is collected a large family, including several boarding scholars, and that all work and study together. They seem to be glad to know all who desire to join them in the spirit, that at any moment, when they are able to enlarge their habitations, they may call together those that belong to them. E. P. P.

[From Brownson's Lecture, as reported in the N. Y. Tribune.]

PROGRESS OF THE HUMAN RACE.

O. A. BROWNSON'S Lecture on Civilization, was mainly a consideration of the law of progress, by which the human race has advanced from barbarism to its present intellectual, moral, and physical conditions. His theory assumes barbarism and mental infancy as the primitive state of the human family, from which it has emerged and ascended to its present unequal altitudes by slow and irregular gradations. This progress, he contends, is not spontaneous and inevitable, but the result of extrinsic influences acting on the race. To maintain this position, he appealed to the tradition of all civilized nations, or communities, each of which refers the origin of its culture to some communicated impulse—some colony or teacher from abroad, and often some direct messenger from God. This uniformity of tradition, Mr. B. maintained, established the fact, which is otherwise abundantly corroborated, that the origin of progress is ever in revelation, or some special manifestation of Divine Providence.

As human progress originates, so is it ever sustained and impelled by inspiration of God. Every perception of nature is a lower form of inspiration; but this is not sufficient. Left to this alone, the race would not merely fail to advance; it would relapse and recede into its primeval barbarism. But God raises up and qualifies men inspired to be the teachers, guides and elevators of their kind—not merely those inspired mainly to teach loftier views of Deity and duty, as Moses and Christ, but inspired to instruct and lead forward their brethren in other departments of knowledge and well-being. Every new truth is communicated through these from God, without which there would be no progress, but the reverse. To talk of the mass laboring with new truths, meditating advancement, aspiring after a higher life, is opposed to reason and history. Progress is ever the impulse of the few or the one; the many follow distantly and reluctantly after the prophet they have stoned, or the Saviour they have crucified, because he was in advance of them; and follow only when the new truth which found utterance through him has won its way through all obstacles, and been assimilated to their being.

Progress thus consists of the accretion of the truth divinely communicated to-day, to the similar truths of yesterday, and of all past ages. The men of one age excel the men of a preceding, because they embody all past ages. There is thus a growth in the race; the civilized man of to-day is not merely wiser than the man of antiquity; he is not merely master of more facts and sciences; he is of larger soul. All the past has flowed into and become part of his being. The infant of to-day is invested with larger faculties than the infant of twenty centuries since,—and is a superior being. The child of to-day is not merely familiar with truths which were unknown to the man of Plato's age, but he has thoughts, aspirations, emotions of different and loftier character.

As this is true of the race generally, so of different races of men now on the earth. Some races are thirty centuries in advance of others. Let the child of the Esquimaux or New-Zealander first open his eyes amid all the arts, and be trained amid the culture of civilization, and he will not grow up a civilized man. His feelings, aspirations and desires will be those of the savage, slightly modified by external relations. So the child of Christian America, thrown in infancy among savages, will grow up with ideas and aspirations unknown and incomprehensible to them; he will become a master-spirit and a chief. So also of families. The pride of birth is not the absurd sentiment it is commonly represented. It is founded in the recognition of the fact that some families, from advantages of position, or other causes, have obtained a higher culture than others. We say, instinctively, "He has good blood in his veins." Thousands of stories have been written, of which the theme is a child of noble birth, growing up in the cottage of a churl, but altogether different from the children about him. The universal interest and delight in these stories prove that they are based on a truth which the mind recognizes at once.

Mr. Brownson, having previously defined man as a compound, in infinitely diversified proportions of knowledge, feeling, and acting, gave to feeling throughout the first place. The teacher, the leader, the elevator of the race, should appeal constantly to the sentiments, the emotions, the affections, of those he would win or move. In all ages, the inspired master-spirit has appealed to the heart rather than the understanding. Profoundly did Plato observe that the human soul rises to God on two wings—the wing of thought and the wing of love. Let none rashly attempt so to soar, upborne by intellect alone.

TORY SKETCH OF A YANKEE.

A series of very spirited articles have appeared in Blackwood, under the title of "The World of London." The following lively sketch is in the spirit of facetious aversion, which Blackwood usually evinces toward anything of democratic origin:

Americans are to be found in the commercial quarters of our world, but by no means in the numbers they contribute to Liverpool, where they may be found at every evening party. As we do not in these papers intend to inflict upon the reader descriptions of that which we have not had leisure and opportunity to contemplate, we cannot undertake to describe the American in England. Once, and only once, had we an opportunity of contemplating the native-born Yankee, at the hospitable board of a commercial acquaintance in the city.

The biped was certainly curious, we might say unique: though, as we have said, we cannot undertake to describe the species, we make no scruple of identifying the individual, in the hope that our Zoological Society may secure the animal without loss of time. The genius in question was attired in an amorphous blue coat, with huge brass buttons, a flaming vest, profusion of projected shirt and double ruffle, boots shaped like fire-buckets, nankeen unwhisperables fluttering about his limbs, resembling a purser's couple of shirts on a couple of handspikes, a white neckcloth with loose tie, and a churn-shaped castor under his arm. At first, we concluded he must be lunatic, but felt relieved upon hearing that he was only republican. He ate much, drank deep, talked loudly and incessantly; his topics were varied, and, as we thought, somewhat tinctured with incongruity: from one subject he rattled to another, dogmatizing and soliloquizing: "Free and independent—niggers; rights of man—Lynch law; Fourth of July—slave breeding; civil and religious liberty—tar and feathers; John Tyler—Jim Crow; (these he called great men—the latter *may* be)—corn laws—loafers; shin-plasters—Van Buren; Congress—*loco focos*; civilization—Kentucky; ex-President Adams, and the puddings made of Cobbett's corn and treacle, which said Adams had every day for dinner; General Jackson—clam soup; canvass backs—Governor Biddle," and so on, from the beginning of the fish to the end of the Madeira. On the retirement of the ladies, this extraordinary mammal called for brandy and cigars; which, being forthwith provided, he proceeded to imbibe and exhale, talking from between his teeth in a high, nasal tone, expectorating, at short intervals, betwixt the bars of the grate, with the precision of a Chickasaw rifleman.

The impression produced upon the company by the conduct and conversation of this sample of transatlantic humanity, appeared to be unqualified disgust with Christopher Columbus, for having discovered America, and a general inclination to take refuge with the ladies. We should be sorry indeed to suppose that this remarkable item represented his nation; on the contrary, we imagine him to have been a living caricature of the American citizen, who is no doubt modest, well-bred, Christian-like, and sensible, as becomes his British origin. These ridiculous stories of Lynch law, tar and feathers, John Tylers and Jim Crows, we take to be merely little imaginary extravaganzas, in which men will at times indulge, who know that the listener must travel four thousand miles to be able to contradict them.

THE VALUE OF LOVE.

Truth seldom dwelleth with the enemies of love and peace. They that are strangers and enemies to it, do indeed often cry it up, and cry down those as enemies to it, that possess it. The wisdom that hath bitter envying and strife, is from beneath, and is earthly, sensual, and devilish. I admonish all that care for their salvation, that they set up nothing upon love-killing terms. If you are Christ's disciples, you are taught of God to love each other; you are taught it as Christ's last and great commandment; you are taught it by the wonderful example of his life, and especially by washing his disciples' feet. John xiii. 4. You are taught it by the Holy Ghost's uniting the hearts of the disciples, and making them by charity to live as in community. Acts iii. 4. You are taught it by the effective operation of the Spirit on your own hearts; the new nature that is in you, inclineth you to it. And will you now pretend the necessity of your own interest or reputation, your canons, and things indifferent; your little church-orders of your own making, yea, or the positive institutions of Christ himself, as to any present exercise, against this love? Hath Christ commanded you anything before it, except the love of God? You say, if such and such men be suffered, this and that disorder and inconvenience will follow; but is it a greater thing than love that you would maintain? Is it a greater evil than the destruction of love, that you would avoid? Did not Christ prefer mercy before Sabbath-rest, and before the avoiding familiarity with sinners? Pretend nothing against love, that is not better than love!—*Baxter's Knowledge and Love Compared.*

REMARKABLE CASE OF INSANITY.

The following remarkable case of insanity is extracted from Winslow's "Essay on the Wanderings of the Imagination."

"A young divine was one wintry day engaged in snipe shooting with a friend; in the course of their perambulations, a high hedge intervened between the companies. The friend fired at a bird which unexpectedly sprang up, and lodged a part of the shot in the forehead of the clergyman; he instantly fell, and did not recover the shock for some days, so as to be deemed out of danger; when he was so, it was perceived that he was mentally deranged. He was to have been married two days subsequent to that on which the accident happened; from this peculiar combination of circumstances the phenomena of the case appeared to rise, for all sanity of mind seemed to make a full stop, as it were, at this spot of the current, and he soon became a mild, pleasant, and chronic lunatic. All his conversation was literally confined to the business of the wedding; out of this circle he never deviated, but dwelt upon every thing relating to it with minuteness, never retreating or advancing one step further for half a century; being ideally, still a young, active, expecting and happy bridegroom, chiding the tardiness of time, although it brought him gently, at the age of eighty, to his grave. This sufferer was never known to complain of heat or cold, although his window was open all the year round."

MARRIAGE.

Look at the great mass of marriages that take place over the whole world; what poor, contemptible affairs they are! A few soft looks, a walk, a dance, a squeeze of the hand, a popping of the question, a purchasing of a certain number of yards of white satin, a ring, a clergyman, a stage or two in a hired carriage, a night in a country inn, and the whole matter is over. For five or six weeks two sheepish-looking persons are seen dangling on each other's arm, looking at water-falls, or making morning calls, and guzzling wine and cakes; then every thing falls into the most monotonous routine; the wife sits on one side of the hearth, the husband on the other, and little quarrels, little pleasures, little cares, and little children, gradually gather around them. This is what ninety-nine out of a hundred find to be the delights of matrimony.

Miscellaneous Items.

TO PRESERVE BOOKS.—A few drops of any perfumed oil will secure libraries from the consuming effects of mould and damp. Russian leather which is perfumed with the tar of the birch tree, never moulders; and merchants suffer large bales of this leather to remain in the London docks, knowing that it cannot sustain any injury from damp. This manner of preserving books with perfumed oil was known to the ancients. The Romans used oil of cedar to preserve valuable MSS. Hence the expression used by Horace "*Digna cedro*," meaning any work worthy of being preserved and remembered.—*Green Gazette.*

THE SPIRIT THAT WAR TEACHES!—Captain Beall, of the Florida Dragoons, thus describes, in a letter to a friend, the capture of an Indian chief, named Kenihee. "The fellow endeavored to get to the hammock; but I was too quick for the gentleman. I shot him, scalped him, and hung him up to dry, higher than Haman was hung, of whom we read in the good book. I will send you a piece of Kenihee's scalp."

FEET WASHING.—Several sects, especially of the German denominations, both in this country and in Europe, practice feet-washing as a sacrament, and consider it as incumbent upon Christians as the observance of the Holy Supper. The rite is kept up in Rome by the Pope in person, who annually celebrates the rite of washing, with his own hands, the feet of twelve pilgrims.

It it founded on the text: "If I, then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet. For I HAVE GIVEN YOU AN EXAMPLE, that ye should do as I have done to you."

LIBELS.—J. Fennimore Cooper seems to have great faith in the law. He recovered a few hundred dollars damages of the editor of the New-World, and the editor of the Albany Evening Journal, for remarks deemed libellous in reviews of his book called Home as Found. For certain statements in *reporting* the suit against the Albany Journal, we believe he has now ten suits against the Albany Evening Journal; two do. the New-York Tribune; one do. New-York Courier and Enquirer; one do. New-York Commercial Advertiser; one do. Oneida Whig.

WOMEN ABROAD.—Two women lately lectured on temperance at Perth, and at the conclusion two hundred women took the pledge. In Belfast, the cause of total abstinence has received a new impulse from the labors of Mrs. Carlisle, of whom Father Matthew has spoken as one whose good deeds are known throughout the land. For the last fifteen years, she has been a missionary of mercy in jails, penitentiaries, &c.

MURDER, ACCORDING TO LAW.—The extreme sentence of the law was carried into effect yesterday afternoon, on James Lewis Davis, the colored man, for shooting Massy. The prisoner was attended in his last moments by the Rev. Messrs. Angier, Granger and Wier, and exhibited a desire for religious exercises, but made no formal confession of his guilt, or of the manner in which his victim came to his death. A strong chain of circumstantial evidence is all the public have in regard to the matter. During the past week, frequent visits were made to his cell, and to an interrogation as to his early history his answer was—"Sir I was born at the South, where many of my relations now reside, (happier I hope than I am,) who might possibly meet with the history of my ignominious end in the columns of a newspaper; I therefore prefer to withhold all the intelligence that could tend to give the matter more than the usual publicity." This was his general answer to all inquiry touching his history, or the manner in which Massy was shot.

Davis was of a robust frame, and correspondingly athletic; and during his suspension exhibited more than the usual spasmodic convulsions. He evidently died from strangulation, and not from a dislocation of the neck, as is customary.—*Buffalo Com. Adv.*

MY MOTHER'S HAIR.—During his trial, Colt behaved with self possession. Once, however, when the Mayor, among the articles he had found in Colt's room, exhibited some hair, labelled "hair of my mother," and read the label, he was deeply agitated and finally burst into tears.

The human heart! The human heart! Deal with it gently. Mourn over its ruins. Save the divine spark from being utterly extinguished. Even from the confines of hell might the spirit be led to Heaven, were we but willing to guide it with an angel's love.

ADAMS, THE ENGLISHMAN.—This poor fellow, who stabbed his wife in a fit of drunken insanity, is the most wretched creature the world ever saw. He insists that a trial is both unnecessary and unjust, and begs to be hung. Yet there are not wanting hell-hounds to open their murderous throats for hanging even this heart-broken wretch.

CHARLES F. MITCHELL.—The counsel for this celebrated forger has applied to the court to admit him to bail, on the ground that he was dying of imprisonment. The security fixed by the court for his appearance, was $2,500; this was entered, and he has been discharged from prison. He is much emaciated by his long incarceration, and looks like a crazy man. He was obviously fast wearing away, both in physical and mental ability.

NOBLE EXAMPLE.—On New-Year's day Governor Seward entertained his friends with cold water and lemonade, instead of punch and wine; and gave to the poor the amount generally expended for liquor. The Governor has joined the total abstinence society.

FOREFATHER'S DAY.—The Plymouth people observed this in excellent taste. After the address, the procession re-formed at the door of the church; and it was a real *reformation*—for every gentleman took a lady—and the whole proceeded to Pilgrim Hall again, in the large basement of which was a dinner provided, of which both ladies and gentlemen partook. In the spoon that lay on each plate, were five parched corns," and near these was a tumbler of cold water, in memory of the hard fare of the fathers.

RAILROADS.—The first railroad in America was established to convey granite from the ledges to our ships. The latest railroad, from Charlestown to Fresh Pond, near Boston, is constructed for the transportation of ice.

The first iron railroad was laid ten years ago, and we have now eight hundred miles of railroad in New York alone.

In 1829 it took seventy-two hours to go from Albany to Boston. Now it takes only ten hours."

Free-Labor Dry Goods,

At Wholesale and Retail.

CALICOES, small and large figures; 4-4, 5-4 and 6-4 unbleached Muslins; do. do. do. bleached Muslins; super Manchester Ginghams; 3-4 and 4-4 colored Muslins; 7-8 and 4-4 Bed Tickings; Canton Flannel, bleached and unbleached; Cotton Laps and Wadding, low price; bleached and unbleached and colored Knitting Cotton; Cotton Yarn; Manchester Stripe, for men's wear; Apron Checks and Furniture Checks. Also, a full assortment of Cloths, Cassimeres, Linen Sheetings and Shirtings, Grass Cloth Hdkfs., Mouslin de Laines, and Silks.

Persons from a distance, (store-keepers in particular,) wishing any of the above goods can have them sent, by forwarding their orders, and at the lowest prices at which they can be afforded.

N. B.—The above cotton goods are all warranted to be *free from Slave Labor*. Persons wishing to purchase can have full evidence of the fact.

CHARLES WISE,
N. W. corner of Arch and Fifth streets.
Philadelphia, 1st mo., 13th, 1842.

Winter Term of Clinton Seminary.

THE WINTER TERM OF THIS INSTITUTION COMmenced on Wednesday, December 22, 1841; and will continue 14 weeks, under the direction of the following Board of Instruction:—

JOHN J. BUTLER, A. M. *Principal.*

Eld. HIRAM WHITCHER, and MR. DANIEL S. HEFFRON, *Teachers in the Male Department.*

Miss ELIZABETH EVERETT, and Miss MARY ELIZA PADDOCK, *Teachers in the Female Department.*

Agents for Clinton Seminary.—Volney Elliot, Clinton, Oneida county, General Agent; Eld. Robert Dick, Middleville, Herkimer county; Eld. H. Whitcher, Clinton; Eld. D. W. McKoon, Poland, Herkimer county; Elder Benjamin McKoon, Hume, Alleghany county; Eld. L. G. Gardiner, Deansville, Oneida county.

THE FRIENDS OF THE OPPRESSED

Should be informed, that Clinton Seminary is accessible to all persons of good moral character, whatever may be their condition or complexion. We had, during the past term, among our pupils, a native Indian, and seven colored youth. While most of the literary institutions of the land exclude such persons from their halls, or if admitted, treat them in such a way as to deter most from entering, we invite all of these wronged and suffering classes of our fellow-citizens, who wish to qualify themselves for usefulness, to come here, where they shall find a *home* and protection, and all the facilities for improvement in our power to afford them. And we call on the friends of the oppressed to aid us in carrying out these plans. Shall we not be sustained in our exertions to communicate the blessings of science and religion to all, without an invidious respect of persons? We trust that our abolition friends will generously respond to the appeal in behalf of this institution.

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